9: Ewers NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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● 492

[For general information on the northward spread of horses to the Plains Indians and information on the "horse complex" among Plains Indians, see Category 171.]

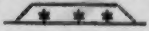
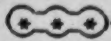
105 understand the stories they relate. I have seen these story-
512 tellers so much in earnest, so entirely carried away by the
537 tale they were relating, that they fairly trembled with ex-
538 citement. They held their little audiences spell-bound.
The women dropped their half-sewn moccasin from their listless hands, and the men let the pipe go out. These stories for the most part were about the ancient gods and their miraculous doings. They were generally related by the old men, warriors who had seen their best days. Many of them are recorded in this book. They are the explanations of the phenomena of life, and contain many a moral for the instruction of youth.

535 The *I-kŭn-ŭh'-kah-tsi* contributed not a little to the enter-
575 tainment of every-day life. Frequent dances were held by
the different bands of the society, and the whole camp always turned out to see them. The animal-head masks, brightly painted bodies, and queer performances were dear to the Indian heart.

484 Such was the every-day life of the Blackfeet in the buffalo
492 days. When the camp moved, the women packed up their
possessions, tore down the lodges, and loaded everything on the backs of the ponies or on the travois. Meantime the chiefs had started on, and the soldiers — the Brave band of the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* — followed after them. After these leaders had gone a short distance, a halt was made to allow the column to close up. The women, children, horses, and dogs of the camp marched in a disorderly, straggling fashion, often strung out in a line a mile or two long. Many of the men rode at a considerable distance ahead, and on each side of the marching column, hunting for any game that might be found, or looking over the country for signs of enemies.

484 Before the Blackfeet obtained horses in the very first
175 years of the present century, and when their only beasts of
492 burden were dogs, their possessions were transported by
these animals or on men's backs. We may imagine that in
482 those days the journeys made were short ones, the camp
travelling but a few miles.

those days the journeys made were short ones, the camp travelling but a few miles. 000

In moving the camp in ancient days, the heaviest and bulkiest things to be transported were the lodges. These were sometimes very large, often consisting of thirty cowskins, and, when set up, containing two or three fires like this  or in ground plan like this . The skins of these large lodges were sewn together in strips, of which there would be sometimes as many as four; and, when the lodge was set up, these strips were pinned together as the front of a common lodge is pinned to-day. The dogs carried the provisions, tools, and utensils, sometimes the lodge strips, if these were small enough, or anything that was heavy, and yet could be packed in small compass; for since dogs are small animals, and low standing, they cannot carry bulky burdens. Still, some of the dogs were large enough to carry a load of one hundred pounds. Dogs also hauled the travois, on which were bundles and sometimes babies. This was not always a safe means of transportation for infants, as is indicated by an incident related by John Monroe's mother as having occurred in her father's time. The camp, on foot of course, was crossing a strip of open prairie lying between two pieces of timber, when a herd of buffalo, stampeding, rushed through the marching column. The loaded dogs rushed after the buffalo, dragging the travois after them and scattering their loads over the prairie. Among the lost chattels were two babies, dropped off somewhere in the long grass, which were never found. 484 492 [342] [354] [493]

There were certain special customs and beliefs which were a part of the every-day life of the people. 576 276

In passing the pipe when smoking, it goes from the host, who takes the first smoke, to the left, passing from hand to hand to the door. It may not be passed across the door to the man on the other side, but must come back, — no one smoking, — pass the host, and go round to the man

231 duction to these Indians sometime between 1725 and 1750. From one perspective
177 the horse, its ownership and use, was another hallmark of Blackfeet culture, but
horses too were of value largely because of the buffalo and its place in the economy.
Horses were a major tool of production.

231 Possession of horses increased the range and the effectiveness of hunting
activities. Horses could carry more provisions than could dogs and people, allow-
177 ing a man to accumulate more posessions, both material items of Indian manufac-
182 ture and others gained by the more frequent and efficient trading horses made
[224] possible. At least one limitation on seasonal migrations was imposed by horse
[492] ownership. The movements of people, influenced by the migrations of the buffalo,
the requirements for water, protection from the weather and enemies also had to
[221] be guided by the requirements of feed, shelter and protection for the horses.

411 The gun was another productive tool but did not equal the importance of
horses in the subsistence pattern of the Indians, largely because the smooth-bore
177 flintlock guns they owned, prior to the introduction of the repeating rifle in about
1870, were inferior to the bow for hunting buffalo.

221 In general the decisions about how many people should camp together and
the techniques to be used in hunting were based on the seasons of the year and the
182 migration patterns of the buffalo. The sequence of development of the animal from winter leanness to summer prime, the seasonal condition of hides for differing uses, the range and weather conditions and the seasonal migrations of the herds all played important parts in determining the hunting techniques to be employed.

221 Ewers (1955:124–129) divided the yearly round into four general divisions:

[224] 1. A winter period of five to seven months during which the small bands
of Indians camped in sheltered valleys, subsisting on stored dried provisions and
whatever game could be killed by small groups of men hunting on foot or on
[361] horseback, depending on the weather conditions. This was a period during which
the Blackfeet were relatively sedentary, and camps were moved only as pasture,
game, and fuel supplies were depleted in their valley.

221 2. A hunting and gathering season of approximately two months in dura-
tion started with the advent of spring. At this time of the year the buffalo began
224 their migrations away from the sheltering river valleys toward the pastures to the
222 east and north. The grasses and root plants began to germinate, and the Blackfeet,
too, left their winter camps to hunt and collect in their separate bands.

221 3. During the summer the buffalo were out on the plains in great numbers,
and the scattered bands of Indians came together as a tribe for a cooperative sum-
224 mer hunt. Buffalo bulls were at their prime during this two to three month summer
season and were killed for fresh meat; hides were collected for use as robes, tepee
[222] covers, clothing and for trade. This was also the season for gathering berries and
[361] other plant products. This coming together of the bands provided for important
social and ceremonial activities that I will discuss later.

4. A fall period of two to three months in length followed the breakup of the summer camp and continued until the arrival of winter storms forced the people again into winter camps. This was a season of active buffalo hunting by

individuals and small groups. The cows were in prime condition and the Blackfeet concentrated on gathering the meat and berries to be dried and stored for 221 224 winter use.

The most common technique for hunting buffalo during the late nineteenth century was the chase in which mounted hunters followed the herd and each 224 man selected an animal, rode it down and killed it. By this time the Piegan had abandoned the earlier method of driving the herds into confining canyons, compounds or over a cliff to be killed and butchered below. Men hunted on foot only when they lacked a buffalo hunting horse, or when heavy snowfall made horse travel impossible. Although other animals might be hunted on foot, the horse [492] was of major importance in hunting buffalo—the Blackfeet "staff of life."

Horses, then, were a form of production capital, and their importance led to another form of economic pursuit, the horse raid. A man could build a horse 721 herd by buying animals from his neighbors, by having them given to him, by 231 natural increase among his already acquired stock, or by raiding and taking horses from enemy camps. This was a dangerous but quick way to build capital, and success in such dangerous pursuits added to a person's prestige, so horse raiding [555] became ". . . an established industry among the Blackfeet" (Grinnell 1907:244).

Labor was quite sharply divided by sex. Men were the hunters and defenders, women the collectors and manual laborers. In addition to hunting and 462 fighting, men butchered the animals while on the hunt, made their weapons, shields, and drums, and painted designs on these. They also made pipes, horn utensils and often their own ornaments, leggings, and coats.

Women's work makes a longer list. They occasionally helped with light butchering when they accompanied a hunt, but did all butchering, preparing and preserving of meat once it had been brought to camp. Women gathered plant foods, prepared meals, made the clothing, packed, moved, and unpacked provisions and possessions, carried wood and water, cut tepee poles, put up and dismantled the tepees, made and decorated leather carrying bags (parfleches) and other containers, manufactured utensils, dressed and tanned skins and hides, made saddles and horse gear, made travois, and reared the children.

It would appear that the women did the most "work," which may be overlooking the fact that hunting, an avocation for us, was often an arduous occupation. Nonetheless, it was true that men had more time for socializing. Young men often dressed up in their paint and finest clothing, to stroll around the camp in order to be admired by the girls; and the older men spent much of their leisure time in feasting one another.

A similar division of labor and male advantage was a part of childhood. 857 Young boys were free to play, until as they grew older they were given the task 868 of caring for the horses. The games they played were preparation for hunting and raiding. At a much earlier age girls began to carry wood and water, do light gathering and collecting, and take lessons in the preparation of foods, clothing and in dressing hides—learning the women's work.

The Blackfeet were much concerned with personal property and had their 423 own definition of what it entailed. Resources were unowned, food and materials

[ca. 1700]

361 Throughout most of the year these hunting bands moved from one temporary encampment to another, following the buffalo
492 over the open grasslands. Each family was responsible for the movement of its own baggage. Its largest and heaviest possession
[342] was the tipi, a conical lodge with a foundation of stout poles over which was stretched a cover of buffalo hides. The size of this Indian home was limited by the weight its owners' wolflike dogs could haul. A strong dog could drag a load of about seventy-five pounds on the A-shaped, wooden travois. A lodge cover made from six or eight buffalo cowskins was a good load for one of these dogs. Larger covers could have been transported if they were made in two or more pieces so that they could be
182 carried on two or more travois. But the necessity for dragging
492 the lodgepoles, which increased in length and weight with the number of hides in the cover, must have encouraged the use of
[342] small lodges in dog days. The family's lodge furnishings and
[352] household utensils, also designed for ready transportation, were tied into compact bundles or fitted into skin sacks which could
[482] be hauled on dog travois or carried on the backs of dogs or women.

484 A Blackfoot camp on the march in dog days must have been a picturesque sight. Scouts led the way, walking a considerable distance in advance of the main party, constantly on the lookout for signs of game or enemies. The other able-bodied men of the band fell in on the flanks and in the rear of the main body to provide further protection. Men traveled light and carried only their weapons. In the center of the moving camp walked the
[482] women and children and the dogs with the baggage. Mothers carried their infants on their backs. Not infrequently women shouldered part of the baggage also.[7] The dogs, hitched to their loaded travois by hide straps, were not the most willing of burden bearers. Women had to keep them some distance apart to prevent dog fights. Occasionally a dog took off after a bitch or

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[171] [7] Pierre G. V. La Verendrye, *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gualtier de Varennes de la Verendrye and His Sons*, 317. The early French explorer observed this marching order among the pedestrian Assiniboins in 1738.

[ca. 1700]

224 drove them toward the travois fence. Other men took positions along
the sides of the route and closed in as the buffalo neared the travois
417 barrier. Barking dogs and shouting women kept the buffalo back.
The men rushed in and killed the buffalo with arrows and lances.

224 After the buffalo were killed the chief went into the center of the
enclosure, counted the dead animals, and divided the meat equally
among the participating families. He also distributed the hides to the
● [492] families for making lodge covers. The women hauled the meat and
hides to camp on their dog travois. This was called surround of the
buffalo.[*] » » »

As the days grew shorter and colder in late fall, the hunting
camp moved to the edge of a wooded area in anticipation of the
224 buffalo migration to winter shelter. There they felled timber and
built a rude corral into which they enticed the buffalo. Their
417 method of corraling buffalo must have been very similar to one
that survived among some Blood Indians until the early 1870's.
224 Old Weasel Tail recalled how these corrals were made and used:

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« « « Near the edge of timber and toward the bottom of a down-
322 hill slope the Indians built a corral of wooden posts set upright in
the ground to a height of about seven feet. They connected the posts by crosspoles tied in place with rawhide ropes. Around three sides of the corral they laid stakes over the lowest crosspoles. Their butt ends were firmly braced in the ground outside the corral. These stakes projected about three feet or more inside the corral at an angle, so that their sharpened ends were about the height of a buffalo's body. If the buffalo tried to break through the corral, after they had been driven into it, they would be impaled on these stakes. From the open side of the corral the fence of poles extended in two wings outward and up the hill. These lines were further extended by piles of cut willows in the shape of conical lodges about half the height of a man, tied together at their tops. These brush piles were spaced at intervals of several feet. On the hill just above the corral opening a number of poles were placed on the ground crosswise of the slope and parallel

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[417] [*] George Bird Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, 234, cites a tradition of a Piegan corral formed of tipis which served the same function as this dog travois fence.

To this trader, A who had known Indians as travelers on foot or by canoe, nothing in the life of the strangers was quite as fascinating as their use of horses. 231 He called their mounts "fine tractable animals, lively and clean made, about 14 hands high." The Indians picketed their horses with buffalo-skin lines to stakes driven in the ground near their lodges and hobbled them when turned out to graze. Their riding gear consisted of "hair halters, Buffalo skin pads, & stirrups of the same." 492 Hendry welcomed an opportunity to accompany a small party on a buffalo hunt. He observed, "They are so expert that with one or two arrows they 224 will drop a buffalo. As for me I had sufficient employ to manage my horse."[9]

Hendry did not identify these people by any name other than "Archithinue Natives," his rendering of the Cree term for the 101 strangers. Possibly in his time the Crees may have used this general term in speaking not only of the Blackfoot tribes and [648] their Sarsi and Gros Ventre allies, but of the hostile Shoshoni as well, for Hendry said they comprised several tribes at war with one another. He saw enemy scalps displayed on long poles near the Indians' lodges and met boys, girls, and women taken captive from other "Archithinue" tribes.

The white trader wintered on the plains. In spring he started 648 on his long trip back to the bay. On his way down the Saskatchewan he met and visited four camps of "Archithinue" totalling 327 lodges. These may have been the same Indians whom he had visited the previous fall in the great camp of 322 lodges. At each 648 camp he urged the leaders to send young men with their furs to trade at the bay. 439 He had made the same plea at the big encampment in the fall. But the strangers always showed little interest in his proposal. They explained that they lived very well by hunting buffalo in their own country. They might starve on [501] that long trip to the bay, for, they pointed out, they were unacquainted with canoes and would not eat fish.[10] [262]

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[9] Anthony Hendry, *York Factory to the Blackfeet Country. The Journal of Anthony Hendry, 1754-55*, 338, 350.

[10] *Ibid.*, 338-39, 350-51.

A [i.e., Anthony Hendry in 1754--Analyst]

[ca. 1800]

721 War was the principal occupation of the young men. The Piegans, who continued to be the frontier tribe—living farther south and west than the others—were the most active aggressors in the successful wars against the Shoshonis. The Blackfeet, living farthest northeast, bore the brunt of Cree and Assiniboin pressures from the east. The Blood tribe in the center warred in 555 both directions. Many older men among the Blackfoot tribes bragged of killing fifteen or twenty of the enemy. He was but a modest warrior who could claim less than ten scalps. The successful ones delighted in recounting their battle records.

721 In their wars with the Shoshonis and Flatheads, the Piegans sent out large parties of several hundred men to do battle. However, much of their warlike activity took the form of raiding for 231 horses by small groups of young men. By raiding and raising horses some Indians managed to build up large herds. In 1809 one Piegan was said to own three hundred, while some Northern ● 492 Blackfeet owned thirty or forty horses. Two kinds of saddles were used, a buffalo-hide pad stuffed with moose or elk hair, employed by active young men, and a rawhide-covered, wooden-framed saddle with high pommel and cantle, ridden by women.[44]

175 The traders' accounts of Indian religious beliefs are of less value than their observations of everyday life and customs. They 127 depended to a great extent on the Cree language in their conversations with the Blackfeet. They saw little of the Indians during the summer months when furs were not prime and the natives were hunting far from the trading posts. That was also 796 the traditional ceremonial season. Although Henry learned that the Blackfeet then recognized the sun as their supreme being, [774] he did not mention the tribal sun dance. If that important religious observance of later years was performed at that time it would have been held in the summer far away from the trading posts.

778 Traders were intrigued by the painstaking attention given by the Blackfoot tribes to ceremonial smoking. Yet the medicine

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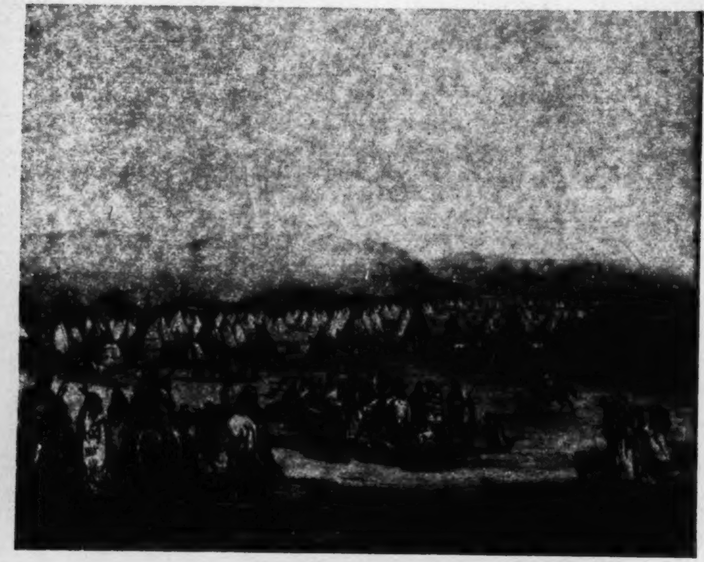
[44] Henry and Thompson, *New Light*, II, 526-27, 726-27.



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Great camp of 400 Piegan lodges near Fort McKenzie, August 31, 1833.

FROM A DRAWING BY KARL BODMER

[facing p. 63]

[ca. 1850]

251 known as parfleches. Layers of the dried meat were separated
by layers of uncooked back fat, wild peppermint, and berries.
After a successful fall hunt dried meat was made into pemmican.
It was cooked, pounded into small bits with a stone hammer,
and mixed with boiled marrow grease. Sometimes mashed pits
and pulp of dried sarvis berries or chokecherries were added to
[415] make a berry pemmican. The pemmican was stored in bags made
from the skins of unborn buffalo calves.

[237] In hard winters when supplies of dried meat and pemmican
were exhausted and other food was not available, even the
262 grease-soaked pemmican sacks were eaten. The white under-scrapings of buffalo hides also were softened in boiled water
into a pasty food which tasted something like boiled potatoes.

237 The Blackfoot Indians in the middle of the nineteenth century
found more varied uses for buffalo rawhide than had their ancestors in prehistoric times. In earlier times they had made many
[177] of their containers of soft skin. The acquisition of sharp, steel
trade knives enabled women to cut tough rawhide with greater
[281] ease than could their forebears with their stone knives. The
[412] long-wearing, waterproof qualities of buffalo rawhide made it
[415] the preferred material for containers in which to transport and
store food, clothing, and camp equipment. The flexibility and
[291] durability of rawhide made it useful for men's and women's belts
[296] and for repairing and reinforcing the bottoms of worn, soft-soled
moccasins. Most horsegear was also of rawhide—hobbles, picket
● [492] lines, bridles, hackamores, martingales, cruppers, whip lashes,
saddle and travois rigging straps, shoes for sore-footed horses,
284 and portable watering troughs. Indians took advantage of the
fact that green rawhide shrinks as it dries by using it to bind
articles made of one or more pieces securely together. The wet
rawhide was used to secure the heads and handles of mauls,
berry mashers, and war clubs. After the rawhide dried, the parts
were held together as firmly as if they had been nailed or screwed
in place. The same principle was employed in covering wooden
714 frame saddles with wet rawhide. Thick shields were made from
237 the hide of the bull's neck.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1850]

Women who dressed thousands of robes for the fur trade each
year also prepared hairy buffalo robes for the winter overclothing 294
and bedding of their own families. Robes were cut up to make 291
hair-lined mittens, winter caps with ear flaps, winter moccasins,
and ceremonial headdresses.

Soft-dressed buffalo skins without the hair were used for lodge 237
covers and linings, for pad saddles, and for winding sheets for
the dead. The smoke-softened upper portions of old, worn lodge 342
covers were salvaged, cut up, and reused for breechclouts and 492
items of winter clothing—men's and boys' shirts, women's and
girls' dresses, and leggings for both sexes. The thinner skins of 764
buffalo calves were made into tobacco pouches and winter un- 291
derpants worn by girls and women.

Buffalo horns made practical powder flasks for Blackfoot war- 415
riors. Horns were also fashioned into spoons, cups, and ladles. 415
The long, shaggy hair of the head, beard, and shoulders was 283
braided into rope halters and bridles. Hair supplied the soft
stuffing for pad saddles and balls used in games. Hair ornaments 492
hung from lodges, headdresses, and war clubs. The buffalo's tail 524
also was used for tipi ornaments. Mounted on a stick, the tail 531
served as a fly brush. Buffalo hoofs strung on rawhide cords 412
made noisy rattles. The scrotum of a bull provided a durable stir- 534
rup cover. The Blackfoot Indians derived their best glue from 492
a bull's phallus, cut into small pieces and boiled.

No less useful were many of the internal parts of this animal. 381
Buffalo sinew supplied thread for sewing and a strong, flat cord 283
for binding heads and feathers to arrowshafts. Bow strings and
bow backings were both of twisted bull sinew. The brains, liver, 281
and fat were rubbed into hides to soften them during the skin-
dressing process. Buffalo fat also was used to polish stone tobacco 324
pipes and to mix with earth pigments to provide an oily base 386
for paints. A yellow paint could be obtained from the buffalo's
gallstone. Water buckets were made from the paunch, and the 415
bladder was used as a bag for marrow grease.

The boss rib of a buffalo made a serviceable tool for straighten- 412
ing arrowshafts. A series of curved ribbones furnished the run-
ners for a boy's sled. 493

237 ners for a boy's sled. Pieces of ribbone were fashioned into gambling
[525] dice. Wedge-shaped pieces of the porous hipbone or shoulder
[412] blade made useful paint brushes. A buffalo skull was placed
[796] on the altar in the tribal sun dance. Some women dehaired rawhide
[412] rope by pulling the rope back and forth through the eye
sockets of a buffalo skull.

[281] Many buffalo cows killed in early spring contained the almost
[415] fully developed embryos of calves. Indian women cut off the
[372] heads of these unborn calves and used the entire body skin for
berry, pemmican, and tobacco sacks. Finally, dried buffalo dung
provided a practical substitute for firewood when Indians were
camped on the open plains at a distance from firewood.

224 Most of these articles were by-products of the buffalo chase. Blackfoot Indians hunted buffalo for food and hides. The great number of animals killed provided ample supplies of the materials required to make the many other items listed above. Although buffalo were hunted throughout the year, the Indians recognized seasonal differences in the quality of the meat and the utility of the hides. Throughout most of the year the meat of bulls was tough and unpalatable compared with that of cows. So the Blackfeet preferred to kill cows for food except during [824] the early summer months when bulls were prime. They recognized the approach of the bull-hunting season when they saw the yellow flowers of "tooth grass." During the warm summer months, when buffalo hair was short, skins were taken for tipi covers and the numerous other articles made from soft-dressed skins or rawhide. Cows were at their best in the fall. This was the period of intensive hunting to secure winter meat supplies. It was only during the cold months, from November through February, that buffalo hair was long. That was the season for killing buffalo to obtain robes for the American traders and for Indian use in making bedding and winter clothing. Calves, generally born in May, were hunted soon thereafter.

224 ● 492 Although their pedestrian ancestors surrounded buffalo on the open plains in the warmer months, Blackfoot horsemen rarely employed the mounted surround. They preferred the chase, a

[ca. 1850]

224 492 straightaway rush by mounted men. Each hunter singled out an animal in the herd, rode along side it, and killed it at close range, then sped on to another buffalo and killed it in the same way. The chase took full advantage of the ability of a well-trained, long-winded buffalo horse to run faster than the buffalo and to bring its rider close to his prey for a shot or series of shots at point-blank range.

224 411 Because it was difficult to reload a muzzle-loading trade gun while riding a fast-moving horse, the great majority of Blackfoot hunters continued to employ the primitive bow and arrow in the buffalo chase. Another factor also favored the retention of the bow and arrow. After the chase a man could go over the field and claim the animals he had killed by identifying his arrows. How could anyone determine which hunter had killed a buffalo with a bullet? The bows of these mounted hunters were much shorter than those of their pedestrian ancestors. A bow not much over three feet long could be much more easily managed by a mounted hunter than the prehistoric bow which was nearly two feet longer. The quiver, slung at the rider's back, generally contained twenty or more sharp, iron-headed arrows. Flint arrowheads, those relics of the stone age, became obsolete several generations earlier. A few men preferred to hunt buffalo with short-poled, iron-headed lances.

224 492 The key to success in the chase was the hunter's carefully selected and thoroughly trained buffalo horse. A good buffalo horse possessed a rare combination of qualities not required of an ordinary riding horse or pack animal. It had to be fast and long-winded—able to retain speed over a distance of several miles. It had to be alert—able to respond instantly to the rider's commands or to act properly on its own initiative. It had to possess courage and agility—a willingness to move in close to the buffalo and the ability to avoid contact with the larger animal and to keep clear of its horns. It had to be sure of foot to be able to run swiftly over uneven ground without stumbling. Usually the hunter chose the horse he wished to train for buffalo hunting on the basis of its proven swiftness and alertness. Its courage

224 492 could only be determined through experience in chasing buffalo. Some horses never overcame their fear of buffalo and so were useless in the chase. In any case, it required patient practice and use of the whip to train a horse to run close beside a buffalo. But eventually a courageous horse learned to follow the buffalo, move alongside, and do its work with little urging from its rider, leaving the latter free to concentrate upon making his kill. A well-trained buffalo horse would turn as the rider shifted his weight to one side or pressed one knee against his ribs. Most men selected horses three or four years old to train for buffalo hunting. A few of these animals were mares. Only wealthy Indians who owned several buffalo horses could afford to trade or give one of them away. A buffalo runner of known ability was worth several common riding horses or pack animals.

Hunters treated their buffalo runners with great care. They warned boys not to ride or molest them. Before a hunt the owner's wife prepared his horse for him. Unless he preferred to ride bareback, she placed a light, hair-stuffed pad saddle on its back and carefully adjusted its girth. Many hunters preferred to use a pad saddle because it added little weight, yet provided a firm seat and bracing for their feet in the stirrups, permitting a steadier aim than was possible from a barebacked horse. The hunter usually left camp riding a common horse and leading his buffalo runner in order to save its strength for the chase. He never packed butchered buffalo home on his prized buffalo runner. When he returned from the chase, his wife took his horse to a near-by stream, threw water on it, and rubbed it down. Some men dashed water on their buffalo horses every morning and evening to toughen them and prepare them for hard winters.

291 The bloody business of killing and butchering buffalo was an old-clothes function. Generally hunters wore leggings, a breechclout, moccasins, and a shirt with short sleeves which would not get in the way or become bloodied in the process of butchering. Whether of buckskin or trade cloth, these garments were undecorated.

224 The hunting party moved cautiously toward the herd of buf-

492 On the run the hunter carried the long end of his bridle rope coiled and tucked closely under his belt. If he should be thrown but not badly hurt or shaken up, he could grab the free end of this long line as it paid out on the ground and retrieve his horse, perhaps in time to remount and continue the chase.

224 Usually the chase lasted until the running herd outdistanced the pursuing hunters. Four or five buffalo cows was about the greatest number a good bowman riding a fine horse could dispatch on a single chase. Most hunters rarely killed more than two buffalo. A man riding an inferior horse had to be satisfied with killing the slower-running bulls.

224 868 Boys of ten years or older, mounted on frisky colts, rode after the calves left in the wake of a running herd. They imitated the hunting techniques of their elders, riding in close and shooting the calves with bow and arrow. In this way they gained experience in buffalo hunting, so that by the time they reached their middle teens they had sufficient confidence and skill to chase adult buffalo with the men.

224 The chase was not without its dangers. Sometimes horses stumbled on uneven ground, stepped into badger holes, or were gored by wounded bulls. Riders were thrown and severely injured or killed. Generally, the less well trained his buffalo horse, the greater was the rider's chance of accident.

224 412 When the men finished their killing, their leader waved to the women to bring the pack animals. Meanwhile, the hunters located the buffalo they had killed by identifying their arrows in the fallen beasts. Using common butcher knives obtained from the traders, a man and wife could cut up a buffalo in about an hour. Surely butchering must have been more of a task for their prehistoric ancestors, who had to saw away at the carcass with knife blades of stone.

224 If the chase was made far from camp or if meat was very plentiful only the best parts of the buffalo were taken. This was known as "light butchering." But when food was scarce or winter approaching and large quantities of meat were needed, "heavy butchering" of the entire animal was more common.

[ca. 1850]

Sometimes the number of buffalo killed and the number of pack animals available determined the method of butchering. A single horse could carry the fleshy parts obtained by "light butchering." The bones were left behind. However, it required two horses to carry the more than four hundred pounds of meat products obtained from a "heavily butchered" buffalo cow. One pack horse carried only the four quarters of the animal. The tendons of the forequarters were tied together with a piece of rawhide and slung from the pack saddle so that one quarter fell at each side of the pack animal. The hindquarters were carried in the same way. The buffalo hide was thrown over the back of the second pack horse, the two slabs of backfat folded over this, and the ribs tied with rawhide cord and added to the load. Then the two flanks were tied together and placed on the horse. A hole was punched in the boss ribs, through which a cord was passed and tied to the pack. Next the hipbones were packed and the neck cut away from the head, split open from the bottom, and spread out on top of the load. Finally the edges of the robe (on the bottom of the pack) were raised and tied together to hold the load securely. The hunter's wife generally wrapped the entrails in a separate bundle and carried them herself. 224 224 492

Owners of few horses rarely possessed a good buffalo horse. They tried to borrow trained buffalo runners from wealthy relatives or band chiefs. Wolf Plume, a Blood Indian, owned several buffalo runners. If a poor man asked him for the loan of a buffalo horse, he would tell him, "Go get that pinto [pointing to a particular horse in his herd] and another horse to pack with if you need it." If the borrower was kind and appreciative, he gave Wolf Plume a lot of the best meat from the buffalo he killed. If the man was selfish and offered no meat, Wolf Plume would not lend him a horse again. If the buffalo runner met with an accident while hunting on loan, and the borrower was known to be a reliable, earnest fellow, Wolf Plume told him, "That was nothing to be ashamed of. It was an accident. Young man, your body is worth more than that horse. Let's have no hard feelings." But if the borrower was an irresponsible fellow, Wolf Plume made him replace the lost horse. 231 426

221 tribal sun dance encampment they obtained a brief rest between
the most active hunting seasons in summer and fall.

Frequent camp movements during spring, summer, and fall
484 required that Blackfoot Indian homes be portable and that their
221 household furnishings and ceremonial equipment be easily and
182 efficiently packaged. The head chief, with the advice of the band
chiefs, determined the movements of the great tribal camp in
484 summer. He sent his herald around the camp circle the night
622 before a move was to be made to tell the people to be ready
to get under way early the next morning. In the much smaller
band camps during spring and fall the band chief consulted
with other prominent men of his band before announcing a move.

484 On the morning camp movement was to get under way women
were up and bustling around at dawn. They prepared the family
breakfast, finished packing, and were on the move before eight
o'clock. Most of the family belongings were packed the night
before. They needed only to be tied in their assigned places on
484 horses or travois. The principal task was that of taking down the
342 lodge. Two or more experienced women could accomplish this
in a few minutes. The buffalo-hide cover of an average-sized
lodge weighed about one hundred pounds. It was carefully folded and tied in place between the horns of a pack saddle. The
poles of such a lodge numbered nineteen. Each was about eighteen to twenty-two feet long and weighed a little less than twenty
pounds. Women divided the lodge poles into bundles of about
five poles each. They tied the poles of each bundle together by
a rawhide cord threaded through a hole burned in each pole
near its upper end and tied one bundle of poles on each side of
● 492 a pack horse. Thus two horses were needed to drag the poles
484 of an average-sized lodge.

Buffalo-robe bedding and willow backrests, the principal lodge
492 furnishings, were packed on a horse travois. Dried meat, tallow,
and pemmican were placed in rectangular, rawhide parfleches
484 which were suspended over the horns of a saddle, one on each
415 side of the pack horse. Berries and tobacco were packed in sacks
made from the skins of unborn buffalo calves and placed in the

side pockets of buffalo-hide saddlebags. Kettles were put into 492
skin sacks and tied on top of the pack horses' loads. Tools and
utensils were placed in rectangular rawhide cases, which usually 484
were carried on the horse travois. Ceremonial equipment was 415
carried in bundles on the travois or in fringed rawhide containers
over the horns of the favorite wife's saddle.

Scouts rode well in advance of the moving caravan, on con-
stant lookout for signs of game or enemies. The other active 484
warriors rode on the flanks and in the rear of the moving camp, carrying their weapons. The medicine pipe owner and the chief or chiefs and their families led the main body. Other camp members fell in behind the chiefs in family groups with their travois, pack animals, riding horses, and loose horses. Older boys drove the loose horses. Babies rode on their mothers' backs in the folds of their mothers' buffalo robes. Toddlers often rode on the travois. When they tired of riding, they got off and ran for a while. Older children usually rode horseback, sometimes two or three of them on a horse.

At noon the chief halted the caravan for a short rest and lunch.
This was a cold meal of prepared meat, pemmican, or dried plant [264]
foods, and water. Usually the day's march ended in the middle [262]
or late afternoon so there was ample time for the women to
erect the lodges, unpack the horses, and prepare the evening
meal before dark. The chief chose the campsite and selected 361
the spot for his lodge. Only during tribal movements in summer
was the camp circle formed. At the end of a day's march by a
separate hunting band the families pitched their lodges around
that of their chief in an uneven cluster. They did not scatter
widely because of the danger of enemy attack.

Usually the Indians knew in advance if their night camp was
to be made without wood or water. If wood was lacking, dried 312
buffalo chips were collected. Dried grass was used for tinder.
The grass was ignited by sparks made by striking a curved fire-
steel against a piece of flint. Water was brought along in buffalo 312
paunches to supply a dry camp. Horses and dogs were watered
in basin-shaped troughs of rawhide. There was little difficulty in

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Blackfoot woman with horse travois.

COURTESY SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

[facing p. 94]

312 obtaining water in spring. At that season the water from melting snows collected in many depressions which dried out by summer time.

501 When the Indians had to cross deep streams or rivers on the march, they rolled up the sides of their lodge covers to form 505 rude boats in which baggage and children were placed. Horse travois poles and tipi poles were lashed together to form crude 505 rafts on which other baggage was ferried. Horses towed these improvised craft while men swam ahead with tow lines, guiding the way, and women pushed from behind. Horses whinnied, dogs yelped, and people shouted as the crossing was made. When the Indians reached the far side of the stream, they generally stopped for the day to dry their clothes and gear.

484 On a rainy morning the Indians usually did not try to move camp. If a heavy rain fell while the band was on the march, they generally stopped for the day. Other factors helped to determine both the speed of movement and the distance covered. Among them were the character of the terrain traversed (whether level or hilly, the number and sizes of the water courses to be crossed), the availability of game, fear of enemy raiding parties in the vicinity, and the desire to reach a trading post or a particular camping spot before nightfall.

● 492 A normal day's march was about ten to fifteen miles. This was fully twice the distance the prehistoric ancestors of the Blackfeet could have made on foot carrying their meager possessions on dog travois and the backs of their women. A horse packing two hundred pounds on its back or hauling three hundred pounds on the travois could move four times the load of a heavily burdened dog twice as far on a day's march. So, animal for animal, the horse was eight times more efficient than the dog as a burden [182] bearer. The application of horse power to camp movement thus enabled the Blackfeet to accumulate more property and to move it faster and farther as well.

An average family of eight persons (including two grown males, three women, and three children) needed ten horses to move camp efficiently. They needed a horse to carry the lodge

492 cover and its accessories; two horses to drag the lodge poles; two for packing meat, other food, and equipment; three horses to carry the women (at least two of which would drag travois); and two riding horses for the men. Each of the men would also need a buffalo horse. A young married couple with a baby or no children needed no more than five horses. However, a large family of more than five adults required fifteen to twenty or more horses.[3]

511 Nevertheless, there were many poor families among the Blackfeet who owned only one or two horses. Their poverty in horses caused their standard of living to be well below that of the average family in their tribe at the time. Their possessions more nearly resembled those of the pre-horse Indians in quantity. Their lodges were small, covered with no more than six or seven buffalo hides, with short, light foundation poles. Their clothing, household utensils, and weapons were few and poor in quality. They owned no fancy dress clothes, no handsome riding gear. Their guns, if they owned any, were worn, broken, and repaired with rawhide cord. They had few if any buffalo robes to offer the traders.

[556] At the other end of the Blackfoot economic and social ladder were the relatively few wealthy families—the owners of large horse herds. The fur trader, Charles Larpenteur, writing in 1860, aptly characterized the rich Indian:

> It is a fine sight to see one of these big men among the Blackfeet, who has two or three lodges, five or six wives, twenty or thirty children, and fifty to a hundred horses; for his trade amounts to upward of $2,000 a year.[4]

The man of wealth and the members of his family dressed well. They owned several changes of clothing, including elaborately decorated garments to wear in dress parades, ceremonies, and feasts in honor of important visitors and on their own visits to

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[3] Ewers, "Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture," B.A.E. *Bull.* 159, 129–39.
[4] *Forty Years a Fur Trader*, II, 401.

[ca. 1850]

plained to their daughters the honor bestowed upon the medicine 864
woman because she had always been true to her husband.

Girls dressed in garments which were miniatures of those worn 291
by their mothers. But small boys often went nude in the summer. Or, at most, they wore only a breechclout in warm weather.

Blackfoot children were accustomed to horses from infancy. 868
As babies they rode on their mothers' backs atop a horse when
camp was moved. When they were able to sit up, they rode on 492
the travois or on horseback behind their mothers. At an early age, usually by their fifth year, they were taught to ride alone. The child was lifted into a high-horned woman's saddle on a gentle horse, and rawhide ropes were passed back and forth between pommel and cantle on each side and tied to prevent the child's falling. A parent led the horse around the camp at a slow walk. If the child was afraid, he could hold on to the saddle horn. As he gained in experience and confidence, he was led at a faster pace and was taught to use the reins to control his mount. When camp was moved, the child was tied in the saddle and the horse was led by an adult. Soon he was riding alone. By the time most children were six or seven years old, they were good riders. Some rode little saddles made for them by fond mothers or grandmothers. They also learned to ride bareback and to ride double, and they frequently competed in impromptu horse races.

Fathers looked after the education of the boys, but they were
allowed much more freedom than were girls. Boys were taught 868
to make miniature bows and arrows. They were encouraged to [858]
take part in rough, active body- and character-building games
and sports. At the sun dance encampment fathers pointed out 866
to their sons the great warriors of their tribe and cited the honors that came to men who were brave and successful at the arts of war. The hero-worshiping youth was told again and again the stirring narratives of the outstanding fighting men of his tribe, both past and present. He was reminded of the old Blackfoot proverb, "It is better to die in battle than of old age or sickness."

Boys of about ten years of age were entrusted with the daily 857
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[ca. 1880-1900]

to lose interest in porcupine quillwork. Very few girls bothered 531
to learn the quillworker's craft. 178

Other traditional crafts were becoming decadent for other
reasons. Government issue of cheap tin plates, cups, knives, and 237
forks made it unnecessary for the Indians to fashion wooden
bowls or horn cups and spoons. The issuance of strong, white 178
men's stock saddles rendered the more picturesque but weaker [322
Indian-made saddles obsolete. The solid-colored trade blanket 321
replaced the buffalo robe both as an outer garment and as a bed 415
covering. Not until collectors of ethnological specimens began 492
to encourage veterans of the intertribal wars to record their
war deeds on skins (in the 1890's) was there a slight revival of 291]
the decadent old art of robe painting. However, owners of 178
painted lodges readily transferred their religious symbols from
worn buffalo-skin tipi covers to new canvas ones. 532

For a few years after the buffalo were gone, restless young 721
men continued to raise small war parties to raid enemy camps
in quest of horses. In 1881–82 a serious mange epidemic killed 231
many Piegan-owned horses. Agent Young estimated that "about
half of the horses these Indians owned died."[4] Young men, set 721
afoot as a result of this plague, redoubled their efforts to obtain mounts in traditional forays against the Crows, Crees, and Assiniboins. But times had changed for horse raiders also. They had to leave home secretly at night to avoid being caught and detained by their own Indian Police. On their outward journeys they could find little to eat. Sometimes they went without food for days. Sometimes they begged some food from the ranch houses of white cattlemen. They were lucky indeed if they could kill an antelope or a few rabbits. If they did reach an enemy camp and run off some horses, they risked being overtaken on their way home by troops from Fort Shaw or Fort Assiniboine and having their stolen horses taken from them. Even after they reached home, the horses might be confiscated by the Indian Police.

The "medicine line" continued to serve as a convenient escape 727

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[4] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1882, 100.

493 nineties. They were light, thin-spoked vehicles, poorly suited to rough usage over rock-strewn plains and deeply rutted wagon trails. They seemed always to be breaking down. ● 492 So Indian women clung to the old horse travois in preference to the new-fangled four-wheeled box which they called "something that rolls."

342 [178] During the late eighties and early nineties the Indian home rapidly evolved from the canvas-covered tipi to the small, round-log cabin with dirt floor and roof of pine poles covered with earth, to the hewn-log cabin, to the neat clapboard house with wood floor and shingled roof. By the late nineties the most prosperous Indian cattlemen were living in multiple-room frame houses, while poor families still occupied one-room dirt-floored cabins.

178 291 The everyday clothing of these Indians also changed during this period, particularly in men's wear. In the early eighties men had worn cloth shirts, breechclouts, and leggings. Even in 1887 the only men who wore coats and trousers were the Indian Police and some of the chiefs.[17] During the nineties most of the younger men discarded their leggings and breechclouts in favor of what the Indian Service called "citizen's dress"—coat and trousers. But many Indians found white men's shoes stiff, confining, and uncomfortable. Consequently, the moccasin survived as a common article of adult Blackfoot footgear long after these people adopted white men's body clothing.

811 While Washington authorities had talked glibly during the eighties of education as the primary civilizing agent for Indians, the Piegans continued to suffer from lack of school facilities. As late as 1889 their agent was trying to squeeze ten boys and twenty-two girls into a schoolroom intended for only sixteen pupils. Yet the school-age population of the reservation numbered 350. Thus, less than 10 per cent of the children could receive the advantages of schooling on their own reservation.[18] For several years some children had been sent across the Rockies

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[17] Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, 293.

[18] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1889, 223.

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY BULLETIN 159 PLATE 1

Blackfoot Indian pony. (Photographed by Thomas Magee, ante-1910. Courtesy Museum of the Plains Indian.)

[facing p. i]

175 Indians" (Cocking, 1908, pp. 110-111). This is the earliest definite statement to the effect that the Blackfoot tribes possessed horses.

177 231 Who, then, were the Archithinue Indians met by Hendry 18 years earlier? Wissler (1936, p. 5) was reasonably certain that they also were Gros Ventres. I believe we may infer with reason that the Blackfoot tribes, allies of the Gros Ventres, also possessed some horses in 1754, although they may not have been as well supplied with them as were the Gros Ventres. On the basis of the information now available, the most definite conclusion that can be drawn in dating Blackfoot horse acquisition, places this event in the interval between Saukamaupee's first sight of a dead horse and Hendry's contact with the Archithinue in 1754, or within the second quarter of the 18th century.

So it would appear that horses were acquired by the Blackfoot of the northwestern Plains at about the same time these animals reached the Mandan villages on the Missouri or very shortly thereafter. Consequently it was possible for horses to have been diffused from the Blackfoot and Gros Ventres to the Assiniboin and Plains Cree during the latter half of the 18th century. Certainly the nomadic Apache, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ute, Comanche, Shoshoni, and Flathead received horses before they reached the Blackfoot. Probably the Arikara and all of the horticultural Plains Indians south of them possessed horses before the Blackfoot obtained them. It seems most probable that the Crow, Cheyenne, and Teton Dakota obtained their first horses after the Blackfoot began to acquire them. We know so little of the early history of the Arapaho that it is impossible to estimate the period of their acquisition of horses other than to suggest that since their kinsmen the Gros Ventres possessed horses before 1754, it is most probable the Arapaho did also.

173 177 231 Since Blackfoot horse acquisition preceded first white contacts with these three tribes, we must rely rather heavily upon an evaluation of traditional data in determining the source of their horses. Wissler (1910, p. 19) heard Blackfoot traditions to the effect that their first horses were received from the Shoshoni and Flathead. One tradition told me stated that a Blackfoot, Shaved Head by name, went west and obtained the first horses known to his people from the Nez Percé, who told him they had taken them out of the water. Another tradition told of Sits-in-the-Night, who lived a generation later, having led a war party southward to about the location of the present Blackfeet Reservation, Mont., where they stole a number of horses from a Shoshoni or Crow camp. When the warriors mounted these horses and the animals began to walk, the riders became frightened and jumped off. They led the horses home. The people surrounded the new animals and gazed at them in wonder. If the horses began to
[492] jump about, they became frightened. After a time a woman said,

"Let's put a travois on one of these big dogs just like we do on our 173
small dogs." They made a large travois and attached it to one of the
horses. The horse did not jump or kick as it was led around camp. 177
It seemed gentle. Later a woman mounted the horse and rode it with 231
travois attached. According to this tradition the Blackfoot did not 492
employ horses for riding, to hunt buffalo, or to war until after they
were adapted to transport use with the travois.[8]

Interesting as this second story may be, I doubt its historicity. As
previously stated, I doubt that any Plains Indian tribe learned to
ride and care for horses without the advantage of the example and
instruction of other Indians who had some knowledge of horses. It 173
is improbable that the Blackfoot obtained their first horses from the
Shoshoni, with whom they were at war. It is more probable that 177
they received these animals as gifts from or in trade with the Flathead, 231
Kutenai, Nez Percé, or Gros Ventres. Teit has reported Flathead [439]
traditions of early, peaceful trade with the Blackfoot (Teit,
1930, p. 358).

However, we can be certain that by the late years of the 18th 175
century, theft, not trade, was the primary medium of horse acquisition
exploited by the Blackfoot. Contemporary accounts of the 721
Blackfoot during that period indicate that they were at war with
their neighbors to the south and west. David Thompson observed that
the Blackfoot tribes raided the Shoshoni, Flathead, and Kutenai
for horses in 1787 (Thompson, 1916, p. 367). Umfreville briefly characterized
the Blackfoot tribes in 1790, as "the most numerous and
powerful nation we are acquainted with. War is more familiar to
them than to other nations . . . In their inroads into the enemies
country, they frequently bring off a number of horses, which is their
principal inducement in going to war" (Umfreville, 1790, p. 200).

Thus, during the 18th century the Blackfoot developed the pattern of acquisition through capture which remained their primary method of obtaining horses from neighboring tribes throughout the first 86 years of the 19th century and until the buffalo were exterminated from their country.

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[8] The majority of my aged Blackfoot informants when questioned regarding Blackfoot acquisition of the horse either frankly admitted they were not informed on the subject or offered a legendary explanation in reply. These mythological interpretations of a historic event which must have taken place little more than 200 years ago are given on pages 291-298.

TREATMENT OF SADDLE SORES

Saddle sores were a seasonal problem to the wealthy horse owner. 231 In the spring of the year his saddle and pack horses, that had been rested during the winter months, sometimes got saddle sores from ill-fitting, 492 improperly padded saddles used on them. Rich men could rest their afflicted mounts until they recovered. Poor men could not spare their riding horses and of necessity overloaded their pack animals. Consequently they were plagued with sore-backed horses the year round. If a wealthy man saw a likely looking but sore-backed horse belonging to a poor fellow, he might trade one of his sound horses for it.

The Blackfoot had several common remedies for saddle sores. 232 "Snake weed" (*Yucca* sp.), if available, was boiled and applied to the 278 sore with grass or a rag. "Dry root" (*Heuchera* sp., alumroot) mixed with buffalo fat and boiled in water, also was applied. Another [824] remedy made use of a mixture of boiled tobacco, a bitter grass, animal fat, and commercial salt, which was rubbed on the sore and "in a month's time the sore would be healed and hair standing on it." A Blood informant said his family preferred to prick the swelling with a new arrowhead until the blood ran, then apply herb medicine.[23]

TREATMENT OF SORE FEET

To repair a worn foot that caused a horse to limp with pain, the 232 Blackfoot owner made a rawhide protective shoe from a piece of thick hide from a freshly killed buffalo bull. He broke up horse manure and placed it in the shoe before he slipped it over the horse's foot. The shoe extended to the pastern and was held in place by a rawhide drawstring around the top. Periodically the shoe was re-

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[23] Several observers testified to the commonness of saddle sores among Indian-owned [171] horses of the Plains in the first decade of the 19th century. All of them attributed this to the poorly fitting saddles used by the Indians. Henry (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 1, p. 47) commented upon this situation among the Cree; Tabeau (1939, pp. 88–90) among the Arikara, some of whom "more through interest than pity, cover the sores with a piece of leather or with a buffalo paunch sprinkled with ashes" to prevent magpies from picking at the raw flesh; and Lewis and Clark regarding the Lemhi Shoshoni and Walla Walla horses their expedition obtained from the Indians (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, pp. 574–575; vol. 3, p. 979). The chronicler of the Long expedition wrote of the Omaha (1819), "the backs of their horses are very often sore and ulcerated from the friction of the rude saddle . . . resting on rude saddle cloths without padding" (James, 1823, vol. 1, p. 293). Larocque (1910, p. 64) observed the care Crow owners gave their horses, stating "as soon as a horse has a sore back he is not used until he is healed." Such treatment, of course, was possible only among a people who were relatively rich in horses. Undoubtedly the great majority of Plains Indians owned too few horses to afford to rest their sore-backed animals for extended periods.

Gilmore (1919, p. 138) described Pawnee use of plant medicines in treating saddle sores. The Thompson Indians of British Columbia first washed the sore with human urine, then applied plant medicines (Teit, 1930, pp. 513–514).

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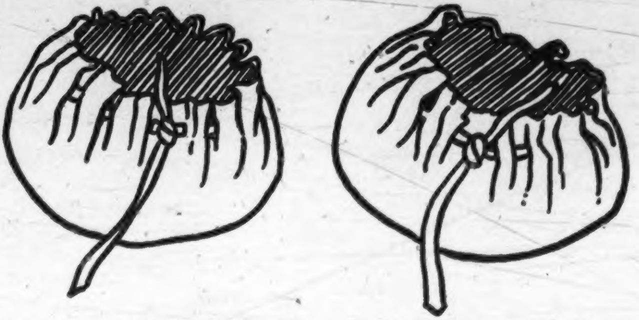

FIGURE 4.—Rawhide horseshoes similar to Blackfoot type, Arapaho. (After No. 58036, Chicago Museum of Natural History.)

232 moved, the hoof examined, and fresh manure inserted. When the hoof grew out, the shoe was discarded.[23]

TREATMENT OF COLIC AND DISTEMPER

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278 The Blackfoot treated colic and distemper by the same means, i. e. by pouring plant medicine down the mouth or nose of the ailing horse. If the horse was a lively one it was held down and the medicine administered forcibly; if it was a mild-mannered animal its head

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171 [23] Use of rawhide shoes to protect the feet of horses was widespread among horse-using tribes. In the middle of the 18th century Pfefferkorn (1949, p. 147) noted of the Apache in Sonora, "For want of horseshoes, they cover their horse's hoofs with thick horse or oxhide to protect them." In the summer of 1832, Captain Bonneville observed that members of a Crow war party had covered the hoofs of their horses "with shoes of buffalo hide" to protect them from the "sharp and jagged rocks among which they had to pass" (Irving, 1851, p. 53). The Plains Cree used a manure-lined shoe like that employed by the Blackfoot to cure sore-footed horses. A pair of Arapaho rawhide horseshoes, catalog No. 58,036, Chicago Museum of Natural History, collected by George Dorsey in 1905 from the Wind River Reservation, is reproduced as figure 4. This specimen is identical with descriptions of Blackfoot horseshoes. An elderly Kiowa told me his people formerly used rawhide shoes in the treatment of sore-footed horses. Chiracahua Apache employed rawhide "horse moccasins" for the same purpose (Opler, 1941, p. 396). Kutenai are said to have laughed at Flathead for making little boots to protect their dog's feet. However, the reference (Turney-High, 1941, p. 70) does not mention Flathead employment of "boots" for horses.

White traders and explorers in the northern Plains on some occasions adopted the Indian's practice of providing rawhide shoes to protect their horses' feet. Larocque used them on his journey from the Crow encampment on the Yellowstone River back to the Hidatsa villages in the fall of 1805 (Larocque, 1910, p. 49). Capt. Wm. Clark's party, eastbound down the Yellowstone Valley in July 1806, made "a sort of moccasin of green buffalo skin" to relieve their horses' worn feet (Coues, 1893, vol. 3, p. 1137). Captain Bonneville, in the fall of 1832, made buffalohide shoes for his foot-worn horses while traveling through rocky country near the Wind River Mountains (Irving, 1851, p. 234).

In the summer of 1854, Parker (1856, p. 203) saw the wife of a Southern Comanche chief "leading a horse and mule slowly backwards and forwards through a slow fire" which was "the process of hardening the hoofs by exposing them to the smoke and vapour of the wild rosemary-artemisia." I have found no other reference to this practice among Plains Indians.

224 rubbed on their ropes. (A description of their methods appears on
231 p. 274.)[31]

BREAKING HORSES FOR RIDING

231 The great majority of horses owned by the Blackfoot were put to use as riding or transport animals. Most families owned too few
492 horses to permit the reservation of more than one stallion and young, unbroken colts as nonworking range stock. Wealthy men could afford to keep numbers of animals solely for breeding and future trading
[426] purposes. However, even those owners possessed many more well trained animals than were needed to provide an adequate supply of riding and transport horses for their immediate families, for it was common practice for rich men to loan trained horses to the less for-
[431] tunate for the latter's use in hunting and moving camp. Unbroken broncos sometimes were given as presents. However, if the recipient was a poor person, a child, or an older man or woman the gift horses generally were trained ones.

Light boys in their teens broke yearling colts for their own use. Most horses broken for riding purposes were trained during their second or third year.[32] Mares as well as male horses were broken for riding. In fact some mares were used as buffalo runners and race horses.

231 Although it was customary for a young single or married man to
492 break his own horses, teen-aged boys broke those belonging to the older members of their families. Boys with plenty of nerve began break-
883 ing horses at 12 or 13 years of age. Others did not try it until they

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[171] [31] The Plains Cree also had little success in capturing wild horses, or in keeping them alive once caught (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 196). The apparent ineptness of the Cree and Blackfoot in this undertaking is in striking contrast to the skill of some central and southern Plains tribes. Descriptions of their well-organized horse-capturing expeditions are numerous in the literature. Two methods seem to have been much used: (1) lassoing with a running loop and (2) approaching the wild horse with the open lasso loop fixed to a long, forked stick, and dropping the noose over the running animal's head and neck. The Long expedition found that the Kaskaia (Kiowa Apache) were expert in "throwing the rope" in taking wild horses in 1820 (James, 1823, vol. 2, p. 114). Catlin fully described and pictured Comanche use of the lasso for this purpose in 1834 (Catlin, 1841, vol. 2, p. 58). Smith met members of a Cheyenne party who had successfully lassoed 200 wild horses, in 1840 (Smith, 1913, p. 373). Denig described Brule Dakota lassoing of wild horses on organized expeditions in the second quarter of the 19th century (Denig, 1951, p. 196). However, Barrett's data from Rosebud Reservation in the 1940's, indicated that the Brule employed the forked-stick method, and Grinnell (1923, vol. 1, pp. 291–293) also attributed use of that method to the Cheyenne. Perhaps some tribes employed both techniques. Dorsey (1896, p. 281) wrote of the forked-stick method in use among the Omaha.

[171] [32] Limited comparative data suggest that it was usual Plains Indian practice to break horses for riding at an early age. The Hidatsa broke them at 1 to 2 years old (Wilson, 1924, p. 150). The Oglala, according to Eagle Bird, broke them before they were 3 years old. Enoch Smoky said the Kiowa broke their horses in their first to third years. In contrast, the Spanish-Mexicans in California in the middle 19th century allowed their horses to run wild until they were 4 or 5 years old before breaking them to the saddle. They seldom broke mares, and considered it a disgrace for a man to ride one (Denhardt, 1947, p. 12).

were in their middle or late teens. A few fellows were afraid to 231
break horses, and never did.[38] The Blackfoot-owned horses usu- 492
ally were halter or hackamore broken before they were broken to ride.

Four methods of horse breaking were employed by the Blackfoot 883
tribes. Each method was described by four or more informants.

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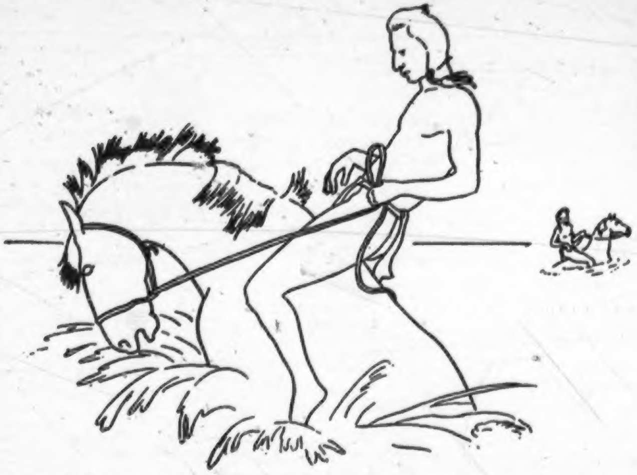

FIGURE 6.—Breaking a bronco by riding it in a pond or stream, Blackfoot.

POND OR STREAM BREAKING

(FIG. 6)

Sometimes a group of boys went to an owner of a large herd and 231
asked him if they could break some of his colts in the water of a 492
nearby pond, lake, or stream. If the owner consented, he pointed out the animals they might break and warned them he would not be responsible if any of the boys were hurt. Sometimes boys took colts from a man's herd without his permission and broke them in the water. When the owner learned what they had done he gave them a good tongue lashing.

Weasel Tail described this method:

> I have broken horses in a stream. It was an easy way to break them. Two boys rode double on a trained horse, leading the bronc by a rope or halter into

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[38] Among the Hidatsa "colts were broken by boys fourteen to seventeen years of age" (Wilson, 1924, p. 151). Tixier, in 1840, reported that the Comanche compelled their male prisoners to train those horses that were reputed untamable (Tixier, 1940, p. 270). Of course, many Comanche prisoners were Mexicans, who were expert horsemen. [171]

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> the stream. The fellow who was to ride the bronc rode behind the other one. When the bronc was in the water up to his shoulders, the front rider took hold of the lead rope near the bronc's chin, while the other boy quickly jumped on the bronc's back. As soon as the rider was seated the boy on the trained horse let go of the rope. The bronc tried to jump and buck, but as soon as his head became wet he quieted down. He tired quickly. Then the rider rode him out of the water.

At other times the technique of riding double into the water was not employed. A single boy, riding a trained horse, led the bronco. When the water came up to the top of the bronco's legs or higher he rode alongside and changed mounts, allowing the trained animal to shift for himself. Many horses were played out by the time they reached shore and could be ridden on land without fear of bucking. When a group of boys took part in breaking a high spirited horse in the water some of them roped the bronco before it reached shore and held it so that it could not get to land before it was completely tired. Horses that showed a lot of spirit after one water treatment were taken back into the pond or stream for another session. Usually one trip into the water was sufficient. After the horse came out of the water its rider rode it bareback on land for several days before it was considered ready for the saddle.

BOGGY GROUND BREAKING

This method was a variant of the pond and stream method. It could be employed when no pond, lake, or suitable stream was in the neighborhood of camp. Informants said it was less commonly used than the first method, although five of them either had employed this method themselves or had seen it used.

The bronco was led to a muddy or swampy area, and the rider jumped on its bare back. When the horse tried to buck, its feet would sink in the mire. If the rider was thrown he would not be hurt. The horse's spirit was broken before it could get out of the boggy ground. It could be led back into the area any number of times until its rider was satisfied that it would buck no more.

Lazy Boy said he went on a horse raid to the Flathead during which Morning Eagle took a fine looking colt that had never been broken. On their return journey the party came to a muddy place. Morning Eagle rode his newly acquired prize in the mud until it was played out. When he finished with it, it could be ridden on dry soil without difficulty.

SURCINGLE BREAKING

(FIG. 7)

Before a bronco could be broken on dry soil, it had to be held so as to permit the rider to mount. There were several methods of doing this. Sometimes the bronco was roped, and the lasso pulled tight

around its neck while another man slipped a war bridle in his mouth, 231
and the rider (a third person) jumped on his back. At other times the 492
bronco was "front-footed" (both front feet roped with rawhide lasso), and the horse was thrown down. The rider took his place as the horse started to rise and the rope was loosened. Still another method was to "front-foot" the bronco, lasso one hind leg and pull it slightly forward so the horse could not kick while the rider mounted, then loosen the ropes. A fourth method called for first "front-footing"

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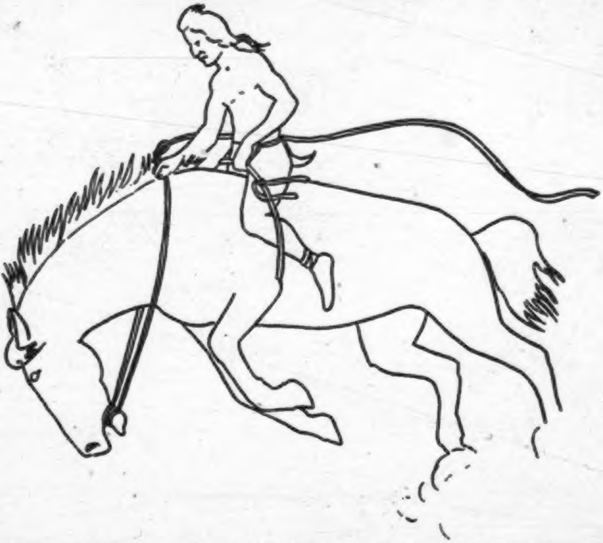

FIGURE 7.—Breaking a bronco by riding it with a surcingle, Blackfoot.

the beast, then wrapping a rope around all four legs and blindfolding 231
the horse with a piece of robe until the rider took his seat. Then the 492
ropes were released and the blindfold removed.

In employing the surcingle method of breaking, the rider carried a long band of rawhide or soft buffalo skin. As he mounted the bronco he pulled this strap around the horse's belly, enclosing his own knees and shanks, and quickly tied the band in a common knot in front of him. The surcingle was tied tight enough so that by exerting pressure with his knees against the band he could keep from falling, yet loose enough so that he could extricate his legs quickly if the horse should fall. It often took three days of breaking by the surcingle method before the horse was ready for the saddle. Each day the rider stayed on the horse until it was played out.

PAD-SADDLE BREAKING

231 492 The horse was held as for the surcingle method, and a pad saddle was girthed quickly on its back, well forward. The rider mounted behind the saddle and held onto it to steady himself as the horse maneuvered in his attempts to throw him. Three Calf claimed he had seen a blind man break a bronco by riding it in this way.

My elderly Blackfoot informants were of the opinion that the pond or stream method and the boggy-ground method were the oldest ways of breaking horses known to their people. They based their opinions upon traditions as well as the belief that since these were the least dangerous methods they likely would have been the ones employed by people who had little experience in training horses. Several men said their first experiences in breaking horses were gained through use of those methods. The same men said they had employed the surcingle or pad-saddle method after they became more adept at handling unbroken horses.[54]

BREAKING HORSES FOR THE TRAVOIS

Poor people could not be choosy in selecting a horse for travois service. Wealthier families preferred to employ older, gentler horses for this work. The ideal travois horse was a large, heavily built, strong,

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[171] [54] Considering the bulk of Plains Indian literature and the importance many writers have attributed to the horse in the culture of those Indians, it is remarkable how little comparative material has been published on their methods of breaking horses. Wilson's elderly Hidatsa informant employed a combination of the water and boggy-ground methods in his youth (Wilson, 1924, p. 151). An Oglala informant told me the water method was an old one in his tribe. An Assiniboin, who visited the U. S. National Museum in 1950, claimed his tribe formerly employed this method. Two elderly Kiowa Indians told me they broke their first horses by this method. One said the Comanche also used it. Smoky described a Kiowa method of breaking horses in soft, muddy ground, after a hard rain, under conditions that would make bucking difficult and minimize damage to the rider if he should be thrown.

All comparative data on the surcingle method refer to peoples living west of the Rockies. George Gibbs noted and described Klikitat and Yakima use of this method in breaking horses in 1854 (Gibbs, 1855, p. 405). It is the only method mentioned for the Kutenai (Turney-High, 1941, pp. 71–72). In the mid-19th century Bartlett (1854, vol. 2, p. 237) observed Pima Indians of the southwestern desert riding bareback using a "broad girth which is passed quite loosely around the body of the horse. Into this one foot is inserted." Of still greater interest is the fact that the Spanish-Mexicans of California at that time used a surcingle in breaking horses. Although the horse was saddled, a leather girth was strapped over the saddle so as to confine the rider's knees loosely enough that he could release himself by pressing his knees to the sides of the horse (Denhardt, 1947, p. 18). This suggests the possibility of Spanish influence on this method of horse breaking, although the principle was relatively simple, and may have been independently invented by the Indians. I have found no reference to employment of the pad-saddle method by any tribe other than the Blackfoot.

My Oglala and Kiowa informants had no knowledge of the use of either the surcingle or pad-saddle methods by their respective tribes. However, they asserted that riders of those tribes broke horses on dry ground merely by riding them bareback, holding onto the mane with their hands, and maintaining a precarious toehold under the elbows of the horses' forelegs.

Both Kiowa and Blackfoot men said their people did not ride saddles in breaking horses until they obtained strong, stock saddles from the Whites in the Reservation Period.

mare over 4 years of age. Some people preferred a former saddle horse 8 or 9 years old to draw the travois. 231

An unbroken horse would not haul a travois. The horse had to be specially trained for this task. One common method of training employed in buffalo days was to make a simple harness, consisting of a rawhide rope around the horse's neck with a long rawhide line attached to it at each side extending backward and tied to a dry buffalo hide on the ground a few feet back of the horse's hind legs. Some people preferred a single rawhide rope tied to the horse's tail and the buffalo hide. The rope was always long enough so that the horse could not kick the hide. While one or more men led the horse by a halter, one to three men or boys rode on the hide over a selected plot of ground relatively smooth and free from stones. The horse might jump and kick at first. It might even break away from the leaders and spill the riders. But in time it became used to being led and to the weight drawn behind it, and quieted down. Then it would submit to the travois. (See fig. 8.) 492

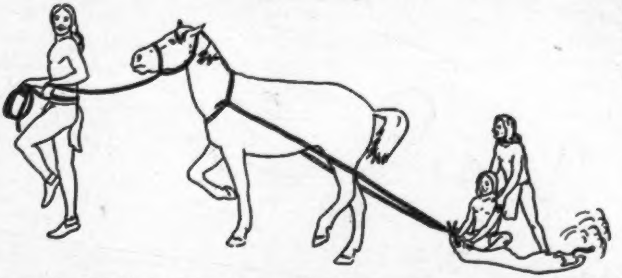

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FIGURE 8.—Breaking a horse to the travois by training it to drag a weighted buffalo hide, Blackfoot.

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Other Blackfoot Indians preferred to train travois horses by making them pull tipi poles crossed over their heads, as in the horse travois, or two heavy cottonwood poles similarly arranged. This makeshift travois was placed on the horse for short periods on several successive days until the horse became accustomed to the weight. Then the real travois was substituted. A horse trained to the travois readily learned to carry the additional weight of a person riding on its back. However, unless it had previously been used for riding, it would not make a good saddle horse.

TEACHING CHILDREN TO RIDE

Blackfoot children were accustomed to horses from infancy. As 492
babies they were carried on their mother's backs on horseback when 868
[854]

492 camp was moved. When they were able to sit up they rode on the
travois or behind their mothers on horseback. They became familiar
868 with the motion of a walking horse, so that by the time they were old
[854] enough to learn to ride alone their fear of horses was partially over-
come. Training involved primarily teaching children to maintain
their balance on horseback and to use the reins, and the proper horse
commands to control the actions of their mounts.

Riding lessons were given children by their fathers or mothers near the lodges in the camp of their band. No effort was made to clear the camp of other riders or children when a child took his first lesson.

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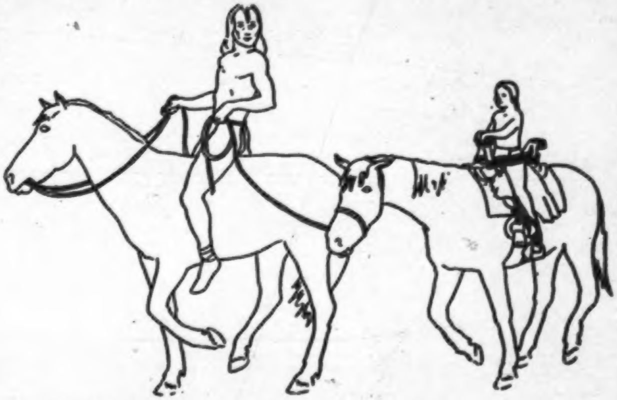

FIGURE 9.—Teaching a child to ride by tying him in a woman's saddle on a gentle horse, Blackfoot.

492 In fact, other children watched and sometimes made fun of the awk-
868 ward efforts of the learners. The gentlest riding horse owned by the
family was employed in teaching children to ride. If the horse was
gentle, the mother usually served as teacher, regardless of the sex of the
child. If the family owned no gentle horse, the father took charge.

My eldest informants said they learned to ride in this manner: The child was lifted into a high-horned woman's saddle and rawhide ropes were passed back and forth between the pommel and cantle on each side, and tied securely to prevent the child's falling. If afraid, the child could also hold onto the saddle horn. The parent, afoot or astride another horse, led the child's horse about camp by a hackamore. (See fig. 9.) At first the horse was led at a slow walk. As the child gained in experience and confidence, the horse was led at a swifter

pace, and the child was taught to use the reins and control his mount. 492
When camp was moved, the child was tied in the saddle and the horse 868
on which he rode was led by an adult.

About the year 1869, a fatal accident caused the Piegan to change their method of teaching children to ride. Woman Shoe was leading his little son tied in the saddle when the horse became frightened, pulled the lead rope from Woman Shoe's grasp, and ran off. The saddle girth loosened, the saddle slipped, and the child was kicked to death. Thereafter most Piegan placed their children in high-horned saddles as before, but relied upon them to keep their balance by holding the pommel, without the aid of ties.

In some families a girl was taught to ride a travois horse. A travois, unencumbered by baggage, was attached to a travois horse and the child placed on the horse's back in a woman's saddle. The mother led the horse.[35]

Informants claimed a Blackfoot child usually learned to ride alone in his fifth year. Children of other Plains Indian tribes seem to have learned to ride at an equally early age.[36] [171]

At the age of 6 or 7 most Blackfoot boys and girls were good riders. Some youngsters rode little saddles, of the "prairie chicken snare" or pack-saddle type, which their fond mothers or grandmothers made for them. A small boy sometimes tied a short rawhide rope to his horse's mane. He employed a handhold on this rope as an aid in climbing onto his horse's back.

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[35] In spite of the demonstrated danger of the early Blackfoot method of teaching children to ride, it was employed by many other tribes of the Plains and Plateau. Two Kiowa informants told me they had learned to ride at 4 or 5 years of age by being tied in high-horned saddles on gentle horses, led by their fathers or mothers. Numerous references in the literature to children tied in the saddle when camp was moved suggest the same method of teaching on the part of other tribes. In 1805, Larocque and Mackenzie saw that Crow children, too young to ride alone, were tied in the saddle when camp was moved (Larocque, 1910, p. 64; Mackenzie, 1889, p. 345). Gordon (Chardon, 1932, p. 347; and Denig, 1938, p. 36) also reported this Crow practice. Ferris (1940, p. 301), in his general description of Indians of the northern Rockies (period 1830–1835), noted, "Their children of three or four years of age are lashed firmly on top of their packs, and are often endangered by the horses running away with them, though I never saw one severely injured in consequence." In 1839, Farnham (1906, p. 329) saw a little Cayuse boy "but three years old" who rode alone "lashed to the horse he rode." Members of the Long Expedition (1820) observed that Kiowa-Apache children "too young to be able by their own strength to sit on a horse (were) lashed by their legs to the saddle" (James, 1823, vol. 2, p. 103). This method was reported for the Comanche in 1865 (U. S. Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1867, p. 88). Although these data would suggest that this practice was Plains-wide, Eagle Bird, an aged Oglala, told me it was not the custom of his tribe, stating that it was too dangerous. [171]

[36] Mackenzie (1889, p. 345), in 1805, noted that Crow children above the age of 6 could manage a horse. While Gordon (Chardon, 1932, p. 347) wrote of the same tribe (period 1820), "At four or five years of age they will ride alone and guide the horse." Tixier (1940, p. 167) marveled at Osage boys who, in 1840, "were riding alone bareback, and managed their horses with skill" although they "could not have been more than five or six years old." A Southern Cheyenne woman claimed her mother told her she learned to ride at the age of 4 (Michelson, 1932, p. 1).

RIDING AND GUIDING

MOUNTING

● 492 Contrary to European practice, most Blackfoot Indians mounted
from the right side and saddled their horses from that side. Older
men insisted this was the "natural" way for a right-handed man to
mount a barebacked horse or a horse wearing a light, weak, Indian
saddle. In mounting, a man relied heavily on the pressure gained by
fixing a strong right-hand grip on the horse's mane. He placed his
left hand on the center of the horse's back as he jumped on to help him
throw his left leg over. Lazy Boy seemed to clinch the argument for
the "naturalness" of right-hand mounting when he said that in the
old days a left-handed man mounted from the left side because that
492 was easier for him. The importance of a strong saddle, which would
support a man's weight in the stirrup, as a factor in mounting is indi-
177 cated by the fact that after the Blackfoot obtained "white men's
saddles" in the early Reservation Period, they readily changed to
left-side mounting. Today all Blackfoot mount from the left side.[illegible]

492 Blackfoot women always rode astride, as did women of other
Plains and Plateau Indian tribes. A Blackfoot woman mounted by
placing her right foot in the stirrup and thrusting her left leg
through the center of the opening between the saddle horns. She did
[291] not attempt to swing her leg over the high cantle.[illegible] Women's skirts
were made full to permit freedom of movement afoot as well as ease
in mounting and to provide a covering for the legs when mounted
[292] astride. Three Calf said that in his youth pregnant women wore an
[843] undecorated belt of rawhide, 6 inches or more in width, as a support
for the abdomen in riding. It was laced in front so that it could be

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[171] [illegible] Right-side mounting formerly was the general rule among Plains Indians. Parker (1856, p. 239) observed that tribes of the southern Plains mounted from that side. Yet Opler (1941, p. 396) claimed the Chiracahua Apache mounted from the left side. Perhaps this was due to their prolonged contacts with Spanish-Mexican settlements of the Southwest. Carlos Rincon Gallardo, Duque de Regla, an authority on Mexican equitation, has informed me through Dr. Pablo Martinez Del Rio, that Mexican riders of the Colonial Period mounted from the left as a general rule. In respect to mounting, the Plains Indians seem to have followed their own conception of the easiest method, rather than Spanish-Mexican example. It is noteworthy that the Choctaw of the Southeast, ante-1775, mounted from the right side, claiming it was the more natural one from which to get on a horse (Adair, 1775, p. 426).

[illegible] Parker's description of Southern Comanche women's method of mounting (observed by him in 1854), shows their method was identical to that of Blackfoot women. "Drawing the left foot up, after placing the right in the stirrup, they extended it over the saddle at right angles to the right, instead of describing the arc of a circle" (Parker, 1856, p. 203. In riding astride, Plains Indian women adopted a custom that was not Spanish-Mexican practice. Carlos Rincon Gallardo, Duque de Regla, has informed me that Mexican women of the Colonial Period never rode astride. Serrano's remarks on the riding posture of Mexican women of California during the Spanish Period also indicates their preference for the side saddle. "As the saddles on which they ride have the saddle-bow and stirrups taken off, they use as a stirrup for one foot a silk band, one end being made fast at the pommel, the other at the cantle" (Bancroft, 1888, p. 447).

let out as pregnancy advanced. This belt was worn for about a month after the birth of a child. Then it was thrown away, and the mother resumed wearing the narrower, decorated woman's belt. 492 292 843

HORSE COMMANDS

To start his horse the Blackfoot rider repeated the sound "sh" (made with the mouth open) several times. To slow down or stop the horse he called "ka" a number of times. Both commands were nonsense sounds, having no meaning except as horse commands. "Ka" was also the command given by men to keep their horses nearby and quiet after they dismounted in war or under other conditions when it was imperative for the horse to remain still. Women trained their best mares to stand still and submit to the bridle when their owners called "ka." Elderly men, who had stolen horses from the Cree, Crow, and Flathead in their youth, said those tribes did not use the same commands. They did not recall the commands used by those tribes, but remembered that horses stolen from them by Blackfoot warriors had to be taught to respond to Blackfoot verbal commands. They said the commands "sh" and "ka" were employed by the three Blackfoot tribes and the Gros Ventres. 492 492 171

Today all Blackfoot, whether or not they speak much English, employ the commands "whoa" and "giddap" to stop and start their horses. They began to make use of these commands shortly after they settled on reservations after the buffalo were gone. The old commands are remembered only by members of the oldest generation. According to one Blackfoot legend, Morning Star, who made the first horse, used the commands "sh" and "ka" to control its action. (See p. 296.) [illegible] 492

The Piegan employed one other verbal horse command. A man could get his horse to drink by making a rapid clicking noise (tongue against upper teeth and release) in imitation of a drinking horse. If the horse refused to drink, but moved his head from side to side in or over the water, the rider knew the water was not good for drinking and that he must find a better watering place.

[illegible] I asked a number of middle-aged Flathead, Wind River Shoshoni, and Cree Indians who visited the Museum of the Plains Indian in the early 1940's, about the horse commands formerly employed by their tribes. They were unfamiliar with commands used before their people adopted "whoa" and "giddap." However, elderly Oglala and Brule men recalled that members of their tribes formerly made a clicking sound (tongue against the roof of the mouth or front teeth and release) to start a horse, and the sound, "huh," repeated several times, to slow down or stop the animal. Kiowa informants claimed their people used the click and "huh" to start and stop horses in the old days. Undoubtedly Kiowa and Western Dakota use of the same nonsense sounds as horse commands was due to diffusion rather than independent invention. Perhaps if we had more complete information on the horse commands of the different Plains and Plateau Indian tribes these data would be of some significance in tracing routes of diffusion of the horse complex in this region. H. C. Bolton (1897, p. 80) found that the hiss sound "ss" was used in Mexico by halfbreed Spaniards to start a horse, while Mexicans in the Southwest used the command "check-a" to stop a horse. This suggests historic connection between Spanish and Blackfoot horse commands. [171] [174]

492 [171] Three Calf recalled that some Crow Indians could get their horses to roll in grass after they had finished drinking by slapping the fronts of their own thighs with their hands. However, that was not a Blackfoot practice.

GUIDING

The Blackfoot employed no verbal commands to turn a horse to the right or left. The best trained buffalo and war horses, and the racers were so sensitive that they would turn to either side by pressure from the rider's knee or from his shifting weight to one side or the other. These horses could be ridden without a bridle, but they nearly always were bridled.[illegible]

The majority of Blackfoot riding horses were not so intelligent or so well trained. They had to be handled through use of a two-reined bridle. The rider slackened both reins in getting the horse on the run; pulled both reins in stopping it; and pulled one rein to turn the horse to the side. (Bridle types and their uses are described on pp. 75–77.)

USE OF WHIP

The Blackfoot Indians made no spurs and relatively few men employed metal spurs obtained through the fur trade in buffalo days. The best trained horses needed neither spurs nor whips to urge them to exert themselves. However, whips were commonly carried by Blackfoot riders of both sexes. A woman riding a travois struck the whip handle against one of the travois shafts as she gave the oral command to start her horse. In riding a poor or old horse many Indians kept the whip constantly in motion, raising and lowering the whip arm in time with the movement of the horse, touching the horse's rump lightly with the whip lash each time the arm descended. Frank Sherburne recalled that at the turn of the century it was a common sight to see an old Indian riding into the town of Browning, rhythmically raising and lowering his whip "every other jump of the horse." (Whip types are described on pp. 97–99.)

USE OF SHORT STIRRUPS

Both men and women among the Blackfoot tribes rode with bent knees and short stirrups when riding in the saddle. Short stirrups gave the active rider the necessary leverage to move from side to side and to rise and turn in the saddle as the need required. They enabled him to use the lance and bow and arrow more effectively when mounted, and made it easier for him to weave his body from side to side when under fire in battle.[41] 492

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[171] [illegible] In 1805, Larocque (1910, p. 64) wrote of the training of Crow horses, "Most of their horses can be guided to any place without a bridle, only by leaning to one side or the other they turn immediately to the side on which you lean, and will not return until you resume a direct posture." The same sensitivity has been attributed to the best trained horses of other tribes of the Plains and Plateau by later writers.

ABILITY AS HORSEMEN

It was to be expected that people who learned to ride in early childhood and who spent much of their time on horseback would become expert riders. Blackfoot boys learned to ride double at a fast pace, to throw their bodies on one side of a running horse using it as a shield, and to shoot arrows from the bow rapidly and accurately from horseback. Girls also became excellent riders, although they had less opportunity to show their skill in dangerous or complicated maneuvers. The greatest individual feat of horsemanship remembered by Piegan informants was that of breaking a bronco while holding a baby in his arms, attributed to Dog Child, one of their fearless riders. Blood informants recalled the accomplishment of Owner-of-a-Sacred-White-Horse, a horse medicine man, who was said to have jumped his horse over a coulee more than 10 feet wide to avoid being overtaken by the enemy.

From the time of Anthony Hendry (1754) contemporary white 171
observers have marveled at the skill of Plains Indian horsemen. Certainly no tribe or group of tribes had a monopoly on expert riders. Nevertheless, Captain Clark stated "the Comanches and Utes are considered by many Indians the best horsemen" (Clark, 1885, p. 319). This contention is supported by the writings of other competent observers. Ferris, who possessed wide, first-hand knowledge of the tribes of the northern Rockies in the 1830's, considered the Ute, "by far the most expert horsemen in the mountains, and course down their steep sides in pursuit of deer and elk at full speed, over places where a white man would dismount and lead his horse" (Ferris, 1940, p. 312). Captain Marcy, in 1852, termed the Comanche "the most expert horsemen in the world" (Marcy, 1937, p. 158). This judgment was made of Comanche horsemanship by other observers (Burnet, 1851, p. 236; Neighbors, 1852, p. 132). We need not take this praise literally to be impressed with the high regard competent American horsemen had for the riding ability of the Comanche.[42]

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[41] The Frenchman, Tixier, was impressed by the fact that the Osage "stirrup leathers are very short" in 1840 (Tixier, 1940, p. 168). Both Captain Clark (1885, p. 319) and James Meline (1868, pp. 103, 246) reported the use of the short stirrup as characteristic of Plains Indian riders. [171] Denhardt (1947, pp. 15–17) traced the introduction of the use of short stirrups into Spain by the Moors. The Spanish adopted the Moorish method in preference to the prevailing European practice of riding straight-legged. Spanish conquistadores brought the Moorish method of riding to America along with the horse. Probably Plains Indian use of the short stirrup was patterned after its usage by the Spanish-Mexicans. Being well suited to fast riding and ease of movement in the saddle, the short stirrup was retained by the Indians. [171]

[42] Zebulon Pike (1810, appendix, part 3, p. 42) employed the same phrase ("the most expert horsemen in the world") in his description of the mounted Spanish troops of New Mexico, whose horsemanship he observed in 1806.

171 It is noteworthy that both Ute and Comanche were richer in horses
" in buffalo days than were the Blackfoot. Wealthy tribes had a greater
231 selection of riding animals, and hence generally rode better mounts.
492 If the Comanche and Ute were better riders than the Blackfoot at
least part of the credit should be given to their superior horses.[43] As
shown elsewhere in this study, the Blackfoot tribes were inept at
capturing wild horses and at killing animals of the deer family from
horseback, while the Comanche were skilled in both these difficult
undertakings. This appears to me to be concrete proof of Blackfoot
inferiority to the Comanche as horsemen.

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[43] Charles Mackenzie, in 1805, observed that the Missouri Indians (Mandan and Hidatsa) "were inferior in the management of their horses" to the nomadic Crow, who, of course, not only had more and better horses but made much more common use of these animals in their daily life (Mackenzie, 1889, p. 345).

283 lashes. After cutting she oiled the ropes with back fat. One buffalo-hide thus made two ropes of equal length, 17 or more feet long.

Other ropemakers employed somewhat different methods. Some cut the entire buffalo hide in a strip 2 fingers wide. They could cut one very long rope or two shorter ones this width from a hide. Some did not use a buffalo skull for dehairing, but removed all the hair with a rock. Some insisted on using coyote or badger fat to oil their ropes. Others dragged the ropes on the ground behind a horse for a time to make them soft and slick.[44]

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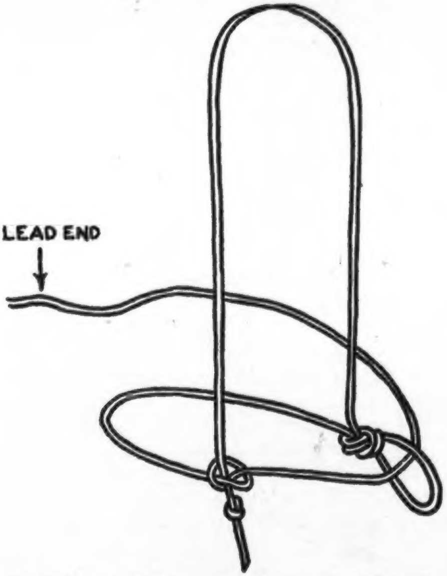

FIGURE 10.—A simple rawhide hackamore, Blackfoot.

HACKAMORES

492 The Blackfoot used a simple hackamore for halter breaking horses, breaking them to ride, and leading horses when moving camp. The hackamore was generally of a single rawhide strand 2 fingers wide. A common Blackfoot hackamore is shown in figure 10.

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[711] [44] Descriptions of ropemaking by the Gros Ventres, Hidatsa, and Kutenai mention minor differences in process (Kroeber, 1907, p. 150; Wilson, 1924, pp. 186–187; Turney-High, 1941, pp. 75–76). We cannot be sure if these were tribal or merely individual differences in method. Kiowa informants stated that women did most of their ropemaking.

BRIDLES

Blackfoot bridles were of rawhide or buffalo-hair rope. Anthony Hendry, in the earliest description of Northwestern Plains horse culture (1754), mentioned Indian use of "hair halters" (Hendry, 1907, p. 338). 492 283 Maximilian (1833) described only buffalo-hair rope in use among the Blackfoot (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, p. 107). Yet neither Bradley (1870's) nor Wissler mentioned buffalo-hair bridles as typical of the Blackfoot (Bradley, 1923, p. 263; Wissler, 1910, p. 95). Our informants considered the buffalo-hair bridle an old-style Blackfoot one which was little used in the time of their youth. Three Calf said his mother made ropes from the forehead and foreleg hair of the buffalo. She twisted the hair around a stick, pressed it under her bed for several nights, then retrieved it and braided it in 4 strands. This rope would not get stiff or heavy in water. It made a good bridle, but it was too light for use as a lasso on windy days. Ropes of braided horsehair were said to have been uncommon among the Blackfoot before white cowboys taught them how to make them.

Most Blackfoot bridles in use during the youth of my informants were of rawhide, single strand or braided. Single-strand rawhide bridles, usually 2 fingers wide, would not wear as long as the braided ones. Some people made a chainstitch rope of a single strand no wider than a man's little finger. After it was pounded and rolled between two flat rocks it looked much like a braided rope. When finished it had a diameter of about three-quarters of an inch. Although sometimes used for bridles, rope of this type was most commonly employed for wrapping medicine pipes and other sacred bundles.

The most popular Blackfoot bridle in those days was of three-strand braided rawhide. This rope was strong and flexible. In daily use it would last many years. Some makers braided them around a honda ring tied to the trunk of a tree. A four-strand rope was braided of green rawhide 2 fingers wide looped around a peg in the ground. All of the rope except for the short section that passed around the peg was cut in two lengthwise before braiding. After braiding it was stretched between two pegs, then the unbraided section that had been looped around the first peg was cut off. The four-strand rope was said [171] to have been a white man's invention, first employed by the Piegan when the Blackfoot Agency was at Old Agency in the early 1880's. The Piegan then made them for themselves and sold them to cowboys for roping cattle. Some are said to have brought as much as $50 each. [435] The Blackfoot regarded this as the best rope for lariats. It was not commonly used for bridles.

The most common form of Blackfoot bridle was that known to the Indians as "war bridle." This name probably was derived from its common use on horse-stealing raids. The Blackfoot also used it in

492 283 hunting buffalo and for general riding purposes. It was a two-rein bridle formed of a single length of rope with a honda (fixed loop at the end of one rein through which the other rein passes). The end with the honda served as one rein, at the foreward part of which two half hitches were taken, placed in the horse's mouth, and tightened around his lower jaw. (Some men tied a knot in the rope below the half hitches to keep them from slipping.) The rope continued around the other side of the horse's neck (serving as a second rein), passed through the honda, and the long end remaining was carefully folded or coiled and placed under the rider's belt at one side. (See fig. 11.)

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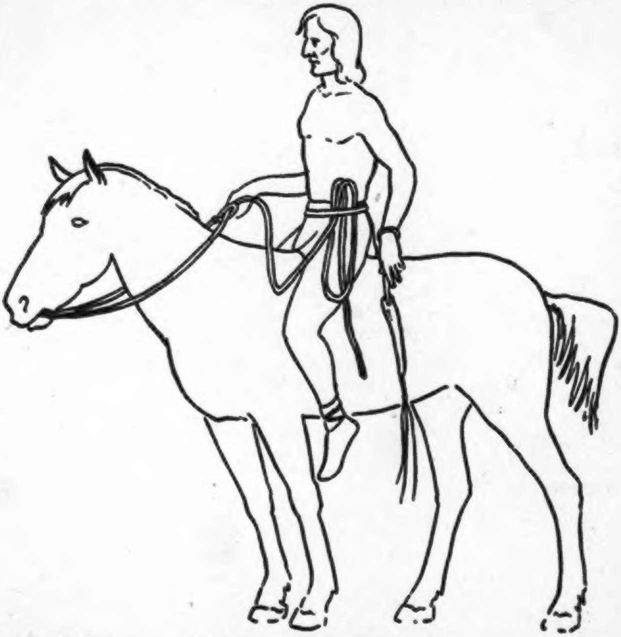

Figure 11.—Rider using a rawhide war bridle with the end of one rein coiled under his belt, Blackfoot.

492 283 Since these ropes were from 16 to 30 feet long, their greatest portion remained tucked under the belt. If the rider was thrown from his horse he could catch hold of the end of this rope as it payed out along the ground. There was always the danger, however, that the rope

might become tangled or knotted under the belt so that when the rider 492
was thrown or forced to dismount hurriedly from a moving horse he 283
might be injured or killed.

Although two half hitches were most commonly used for the jaw 492
fastening, three half hitches were employed to control a spirited horse 284
that was difficult to handle. When the rider pulled hard on the reins the rawhide swelled in the horse's mouth and made it uncomfortable for him. For race horses a single half hitch was preferred. It left the horse's mouth freer and made him less likely to become winded.

The honda was made in several ways. Some men simply pierced 492
the rope near the end and strengthened the loop by wrapping sinew around it. Others used a ring made from a narrow cross section of a buffalo horn. Much preferred was a small metal ring obtained from white traders. If a ring was employed, the end of the rope was passed through the ring, doubled back and securely sewn with sinew. The honda served another useful purpose. When the rider dismounted he could pass the short rein over the horse's neck, pull on the long rein, and hold his mount halter fashion. (See fig. 12.) Wissler also noted this practice (Wissler, 1910, p. 96). In riding, the reins were held 492
at the honda or slightly forward of it.

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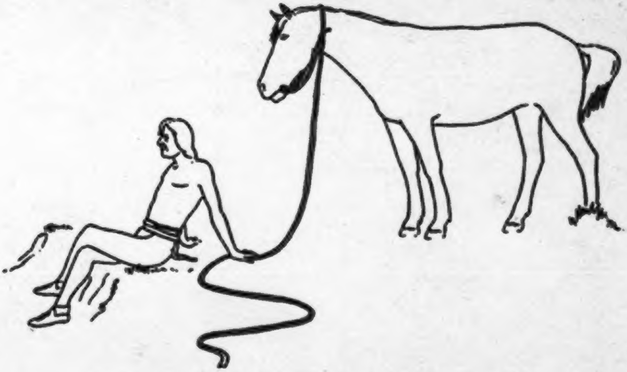

FIGURE 12.—Use of the war bridle as a halter, Blackfoot.

To keep a horse's head high when on parade, a long loop of the bridle rope was left pendent under the jaw. This loop would swing as the horse moved and would strike the animal on the nose if he did not keep his head up. Members of returning war parties sometimes tied scalps to the bridle under the horse's jaw for the same purpose.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

David Thompson, in 1787, described the return of a Piegan war party from a raid far to the south, on which they had stolen directly from the Spaniards horses which still bore their Spanish trappings. "The bridles and snaffle bits, heavy and coarse as if made by a blacksmith with only his hammer. The weight and coarseness of the bits had made the Indians throw most of them away" (Thompson, 1916, pp. 371). Nevertheless, the Plains and Plateau tribes, Blackfoot included, used "Spanish bridles" when they could get them through theft or trade in the 19th century. Spanish bits were seen among the Osage in 1840 (Tixier, 1940, p. 168). In 1853, Whipple observed that the Comanche "are not averse to using both saddle and bridle, whenever in their marauding expeditions they can obtain possession of them" (Whipple, 1856, p. 28). Boller (1868, p. 65) wrote of the Mandan-Hidatsa in 1858, "Those who are so fortunate as to possess one use the heavy Spanish bit with its long iron fringes, jingling with the slightest movement of the horse." However, the simple rawhide "war bridle," with modifications to adapt it to special uses, well described by Wilson, survived in common use among the Hidatsa until the end of buffalo days (Wilson, 1924, pp. 182–185). In the paintings of George Catlin, Alfred Miller, and Rudolph Kurz the great majority of Indians pictured on horseback are shown using the "war bridle." Among the Blackfoot the metal-bitted bridle was a luxury item. The simple "war bridle" remained in common use until after buffalo were gone.

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LARIATS

The long rawhide bridle served the Blackfoot as a lariat as well. Buffalo hair ropes, because of their light weight, had limited usefulness as lassos in the windy Blackfoot Country. Informants claimed the Blackfoot used lariats long before there were any American cowboys in Montana. The fixed loop was standard. Men used the lariat primarily for roping horses which they wished to cut out of their herds, for roping unpicketed horses of the enemy when on horse-stealing raids, and for roping horses for gelding or breaking to the saddle. I gained the impression that little use of the lariat was made by mounted men. Women did not use the lariat as a general rule. They trained their gentle horses to stand still when they threw one end of the long bridle line over their backs or necks and called "ka-ka-ka".[illegible]

283 492 [284]

[illegible] Early descriptions of the use of the lariat by northern tribes appear in the literature. Lewis and Clark (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, pp. 562–563) observed that the Lemhi Shoshoni were experts in lassoing running horses. Alfred Jacob Miller painted two watercolors of Indians lassoing wild horses (Walters Art Gallery Collection, Baltimore, Md., Nos. 80 and 187). The latter depicts a Shoshoni woman lassoing from horseback. (See also De Voto, 1947, pl. 53.) Other early references to the use of the lasso in catching wild horses by Plains Indians appear on p. 60. Pike (1810, Appendix, p. 42) marveled at the skill of Spanish cavalrymen of New Mexico in lassoing horses. There can be little doubt that the Plains Indians learned the use of the lariat from the Spanish, as Wyman (1945, p. 65) has claimed.

[171] [177]

THE DRAGGING LINE

492 283 171 George Catlin described the use of a long, dragging line tied around the horse's neck, by Plains Indians in the 1830's:

> The laso is a long thong of rawhide, of ten or fifteen yards in length, made of several braids or twists, and used chiefly to catch the wild horse . . . In running the buffaloes, or in time of war, the laso drags on the ground at the horse's feet, and sometimes several rods behind, so that if a man is dismounted, which is often the case, by the tripping or stumbling of the horse, he has the power of grasping to the laso, and by stubbornly holding on to it, of stopping and securing his horse, on whose back he is instantly replaced, and continuing on in the chase. [Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, p. 253.]

In his description of this item Catlin does not refer to its use by any specific tribes, but seems to infer that it was in general use among the buffalo-hunting tribes of the Plains in his time. He shows this dragging line in many of his paintings of Indians hunting buffalo on horseback.

The Blackfoot bridle, one end of which was coiled under the rider's belt, served the same purpose. This poses the question of whether the device described by Catlin might not be older than the Blackfoot one described by informants as that employed in their youth. I am inclined to believe that there were several devices employed by the Indians for the same purpose, that may have had different distributions. This is suggested by Lewis and Clark's description of the Lemhi Shoshoni halter employed in 1805—

> One end of it is first tied round the neck in a knot and then brought down to the under jaw, round which it is formed into a simple noose, passing through the mouth; it is then drawn up on the right side and held by the rider in his left hand, while the rest trails after him to some distance. At other times the knot is formed at a little distance from one of the ends, so as to let that end serve as a bridle while the other trails on the ground. [Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 562.]

The second Shoshoni variant is the typical Blackfoot war bridle, except that the long end of one rain is allowed to drag the ground rather than tucked under the belt. Tixier, in 1840, told of Osage buffalo hunters employing a long horsehair tether, tied around the horse's neck, coiled and "passed around the rider's belt," for the same purpose (Tixier, 1940, pp. 167-168). This seems to be still another variant.

Wilson's description of the Hidatsa bridle indicates clearly that it was like that of the Blackfoot, and served the same dual purpose (Wilson, 1924, p. 183). The limited data at our disposal shows that the Blackfoot variant of the dragging line was known to the Shoshoni in 1805. There is no reason to believe that the separate line, tied around the horse's neck, is an older device.

SADDLES

SADDLE MAKING

492 462 281 Saddle making was women's work among the Blackfoot. It was a somewhat specialized craft. Some older women who were especially skilled saddlemakers not only manufactured them for the members of their own families but also made them for trade, while other women never attempted to make saddles.[46]

492 281 Saddle making was not strictly a seasonal occupation, but Blackfoot women generally preferred to fashion them in warmer weather because of the inconvenience of working wet rawhide in winter. To a limited extent saddles were tailor-made. If the person for whom the saddle was intended was a large, heavy man or woman, the pommel and cantle were spaced a greater distance apart than was usual in frame saddles. Saddles made for children were proportionately smaller than those for adults.[47]

492 [422] [437] Saddles were highly valued, private property. A good horse was paid for with a fancy pad saddle or a high-horned woman's saddle. When a couple married their parents might give them saddles. However, some poor families owned no saddles. If a young man was ambitious, wanted to hunt and go to war, his father or another close relative had a saddle made for him. A lazy young man of poor family might never own a saddle.

[353] At night, or in the daytime when not in use, saddles were stored inside the owner's lodge behind the beds. If a man had several wives it generally was the duty of the one who slept nearest the door to care for his saddle and other riding gear left in the lodge.

The several types of pad and frame saddles used by the Blackfoot in buffalo days were as follows:

THE PAD SADDLE

492 281 An active man's saddle, which was little more than a soft, skin pillow stuffed with hair, was known as "pad saddle." To make a pad saddle two pieces of soft tanned buffalo, deer, elk or antelope skin were cut to the same size, roughly hourglass-shaped in outline. Buffalo bull skin made the longest wearing pad saddle. Although a man might cut the pattern to suit his desire, he turned the skins over to a woman to as-

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[46] Women were also the saddlemakers among the Wind River Shoshoni and Kiowa (Shimkin, 1947 b, p. 294; communication from Alice Marriott). Some Kiowa women were specialists to the extent that they made and traded saddles for lodge covers, dried meat, and other articles. However, Opler (1941, p. 395) found that men made the saddles of the Chiricahua Apache. [171]

[47] The collections of the U. S. National Museum contain several small frame saddles from different Plains Indian tribes, documented as children's saddles. Kiowa informants said older women of that tribe made saddles for boys and girls. [171]

492 281 semble the saddle. She placed one skin on top of the other so that their edges were in contact, then sewed the skins together in two nearly parallel lines of soft skin or rawhide cord extending lengthwise of the center. She then began to sew the edges of the top and bottom skins together with sinew thread, leaving sufficient openings at each side to stuff the saddle before completely closing the edges. Buffalo or deer hair were preferred for stuffing, although some women used grass for that purpose.

The pad saddle illustrated in plate 2, *a*, shows the basic pattern and decoration. This specimen (U. S. N. M. No. 2656) was collected by Capt. Howard Stansbury in 1849, and labeled "Black Feet Indians of the Rocky Mountains." It measures 16⅜ inches long and 14 inches wide through the center and weighs 1 pound 5 ounces. In 1947, I showed photographs of this specimen to elderly Blackfoot Indians. They pronounced it typical of pad saddles used by Blood and Piegan 492 531 men in their youth. This specimen is decorated with porcupine-quill rosettes and quilled lozenges in each corner. Pendent from the lower border of the saddle near each corner are two quilled skin pieces separated by quill-wrapped skin thongs. The edge seam joining the bottom and top skins is covered with quillwork. Informants recognized this as the usual pattern of decoration of old Blackfoot pad saddles. However, in their youth the same pattern was worked out more frequently in beadwork.[illegible]

492 From the center of each side extend U-shaped tabs used for fastening the girth to the saddle. The most common girth was a rawhide strap 2 to 4 fingers wide, doubled over the tab on the left side of the saddle and sewn with sinew, passed under the barrel of the horse and secured to the tab on the right side of the saddle with a rawhide latigo strap. Less common girthing was obtained by suspending soft skin straps from each tab and tying them under the horse's belly. Informants believed the saddle illustrated was either ridden without stirrups or the stirrups were suspended from the same tabs as the girth. In their youth most pad saddle riders used stirrups. Some Blackfoot pad saddles were equipped with a second pair of small tabs, located forward of the girth tabs, from which the stirrup straps were suspended. Many pad saddles had a rectangular, transverse piece of rawhide 4 inches or more in width across the center of the saddle and sewn to the skin base. This piece hung down at the sides far enough to conceal the girth tabs. In some cases holes

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[illegible] A Piegan "sattel mit quill," collected by Maximilian in 1833, formerly in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (No. IV B 110) may have been of the pad-saddle type. Edward Harris, who accompanied Audubon to the Upper Missouri in 1843, collected a Blackfoot pad saddle, which is now in the Museum of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Ala. It is similar in pattern and decoration to the specimen collected by Captain Stansbury.

[See category 492, p. 358-A--Analyst]

were made near the ends of these rawhide strips from which the 492
stirrup straps were hung.

Fully rigged, with stirrups and girth, the pad saddle weighed less than 3 pounds. It was no heavier than a modern American racing saddle. The experienced Indian trader, W. T. Hamilton, claimed a horse could travel 20 miles farther in a day under a pad than under a frame saddle (Hamilton, 1905, p. 37). The pad saddle provided a light, elastic, soft seat. It was used primarily by active young men in buffalo hunting, fighting on horseback, horse racing, and general riding. Its specialized use in breaking broncos has been described (p. 64). Children, older men, and women rarely rode pad saddles, unless they did not have access to a frame saddle.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE PAD SADDLE

The pad saddle is an old type among the Blackfoot and their 492
neighbors. In his tantalizingly brief description of "Archithinue"
riding gear seen in 1754, Hendry stated, "They have . . . Buffalo 171
skin pads, & stirrups of the same" (Hendry, 1907, p. 338). Presumably he referred to the pad saddle described above. Certainly Alexander Henry described the use of the pad saddle by the Blackfoot, Assiniboin, and Cree prior to 1809 (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 2, pp. 526–527). The artists Paul Kane (1847) and Frederich Kurz (1852) pictured Blackfoot ponies bearing pad saddles (Bushnell, 1940, fig. 8; Kurz, 1937, pl. 22). Elderly Blackfoot said the pad saddle 492
went out of use soon after they settled on reservations and obtained
ample numbers of white men's stock saddles which were sturdier and 177
were equipped with pommels needed for working cattle. Reuben Black Boy (born 1883) recalled having seen but one pad saddle in use among the Piegan. That was before the Agency was moved to Browning in the mid-90's.

West of the Blackfoot the pad saddle was ridden by younger men in 492
buffalo days. Lewis and Clark saw young Lemhi Shoshoni men
riding pad saddles without stirrups in 1805 (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 171
562). In 1812, Ross Cox noted Nez Percé use of the pad saddle with stirrups (Cox, 1832, p. 84). Later writers reported the use of this saddle by the Klikatat, Yakima, Shuswap, Thompson, Couer d'Alene, Flathead, and Sanpoil (U. S. Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1854, p. 227; Teit, 1909, p. 534; 1930, pp. 110, 353; Ray, 1932, p. 117). Pierre Pichette told me the Flathead seldom used stirrups with the pad saddle. A variant of the pad saddle from the Klamath of Oregon is in the United States National Museum. This specimen (U. S. N. M. No. 24108) was collected in 1876.

The fur trader, Daniel Harmon, described the pad saddle of the Assiniboin, Atsina, Blackfoot, and Mandan and their neighbors in

492 171 the first quarter of the 19th century, "On the back of the horse, they put a dressed buffalo skin, on the top of which they place a pad, from which are suspended stirrups, made of wood and covered with the skin of the testicles of the buffalo" (Harmon, 1903, p. 291). Kurz observed and illustrated Crow pad saddles in midcentury (Kurz, 1937, p. 260, pl. 9). Later writers described pad saddle use by Hidatsa and Mandan (Mathews, 1877, p. 19; Boller, 1868, p. 225; Wilson, 1924, p. 190), and Cheyenne (Grinnell, 1923, vol. 1, pp. 206, 208; vol. 2, p. 17). There are four Teton Dakota pad saddles in the collections of the United States National Museum. These collections also contain a pad saddle from the Yanktonai (No. 8415) collected in 1869, and one from the Sisseton (No. 9062) received that same year. Two Winnebago pad saddles have been illustrated (Radin, 1923, p. 29).

The pad saddle is well represented in the works of white artists who pictured the life of the Indians of the northern Plains in buffalo days. Probably the first published illustration of this saddle type was Peter Rindisbacher's "Sioux Warrior Charging," which appeared in the "American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine" for October 1829 (opp. p. 73). Sketchy renderings of pad saddles appear in several of George Catlin's tribally unidentified hunting scenes and in his painting of a grizzly bear hunt on horseback. Bodmer's lithograph of a buffalo hunt on horseback (1833) shows the pad saddle in use. Kurz drew a number of fine sketches of pad-saddled horses seen among the Upper Missouri tribes in 1851–52. Charles Wimar's original sketch books from the period of his trip up the Missouri and Yellowstone in 1858 (now in the City Art Museum, St. Louis) contain drawings of pad saddles. Study of the most detailed of these early illustrations and of museum specimens indicates that tribal differences in construction and decoration of the pad saddle among the Upper Missouri tribes were negligible.

171 I have seen a single pad saddle specimen from a southern Plains tribe. It was collected by Jarvis prior to September 1848, and was labeled "Comanche" in Jarvis' own hand (Acc. No. 1848, 67, New York Hist. Soc., now in the Brooklyn Museum). This specimen is identical with northern Plains pad saddles. Three Kiowa informants claimed men of their tribe did not use pad saddles in the late years of buffalo hunting. Tixier's description of the equipment of Osage buffalo hunters seen in 1840 mentions only the frame saddle (Tixier, 1940, p. 168). Nevertheless, fragmentary descriptions indicate that the pad saddle may have been in general use in that region in earlier times. Pénicaut described Caddo riding gear in 1714, "their stirrups are suspended by a cord . . . of hair which is fastened to doe skin doubled into four thicknesses and serving them as a saddle" (Swanton, 1942, p. 147). Apache warriors, in 1744, were said to

have ridden with a "skin serving them for a saddle" (Whipple, 1856, p. 117). 171

These early references, in addition to those referring to the northern tribes, suggest that the pad saddle may have been virtually Plains-wide in its distribution in the 18th century. As Wissler (1915, p. 36) has suggested, the pad saddle, of basically simple construction, may have been diffused over the Plains with the horse, while the more complex frame saddle passed northward at a slower rate. Although the origin of the pad saddle cannot be determined with certainty on the basis of data available, it is possible that it was derived from the Spanish-Mexican pack saddle. Pfefferkorn (1949, p. 95), who saw that saddle in use in Sonora in the middle 18th century, described it as two cushions of tanned cowhide, four-cornered and stuffed with hay, attached to one another in the middle. This may have been the prototype of the active young man's saddle of the Plains Indians.

PAD-SADDLE VARIANTS AMONG THE BLACKFOOT

Two variants of the pad saddle were described by aged Blackfoot informants. 492 A very simple saddle was made from a single thickness of hide from a buffalo bull's neck. The hide was placed on the horse, hair side down, and held in place by straps pendent from each side, tied under the horse's belly. A rawhide cord, sewn together at the ends to make a continuous belt was suspended over the top of the pad so that the loop ends served as stirrups. Men returning from horse raids sometimes made saddles of this type if they had time and opportunity to kill buffalo en route. The saddle could be quickly fashioned from untanned buffalo hide. Its use was preferred to riding bareback for days over rough country. This type also served the poor or lazy fellow who could afford no better saddle.

The second variant of the pad saddle was composed of a pair of horizontal, cottonwood sideboards, like those used for frame saddles, joined by flexible skin pads stuffed with grass in front and back in lieu of pommel and cantle. This made a light saddle that could be folded easily and carried under the owner's arm when not in use. It was an uncommon saddle type.

THE "WOOD SADDLE"

The typical woman's saddle was a frame of cottonwood covered with rawhide, known to the Blackfoot as "wood saddle." The type is illustrated by a Blood Indian specimen in the Chicago Museum of Natural History, collected by R. N. Wilson prior to 1897 (cat. No. 51,752). Sideboards measure 19 inches long. The cantle rises to a height of 12.8 inches. (Pl. 2, *b*.) This type was described by Alexander Henry in 1809, as "made of wood well joined, and covered with

492 raw buffalo hide, which in drying binds every part tight. This frame rises about ten inches before and behind; the tops are bent over horizontally and spread out, forming a flat piece about six inches in diameter." He believed this saddle type was older than the pad saddle (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 2, p. 527). In 1833, Maximilian observed this saddle and noted that both pommel and cantle "frequently has a leather fringe hanging from it" (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, p. 107). Gustavus Sohon shows this type of saddle ridden by the two women in the left background of his field sketch, "The Bloods Come in Council," drawn in 1855. The men in the foreground appear to be riding pad saddles. (Pl. 4.)^

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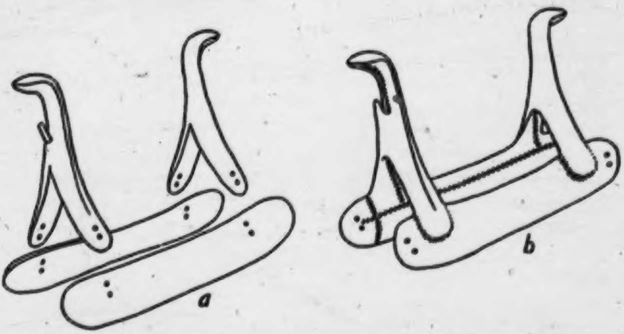

FIGURE 13.—Construction of a woman's "wood saddle," Blackfoot. *a*, Wooden pommel and cantle ready for assembly; *b*, rawhide-covered assembled saddle.

492 322 In making a wood saddle a woman split a green cottonwood log and trimmed two pieces to equal size about one-half inch thick, 16 to 20 inches long, and 3 or 4 inches wide, for the sideboards. Three Calf said his mother bent the sideboards slightly by pressure over the shaft of a travois while the wood was still green. Two forks of green cottonwood were carefully selected for pommel and cantle. Care was taken that they should be approximately the same size and that both prongs of each fork should be of equal thickness. The top of each fork was bent and trimmed with a knife to a flat disk shape and the ends of the prongs were curved. A small hole was burned in the front of the piece to be used for the pommel just above the junction of the prongs and a straight wooden spike tightly fitted into the hole. With a red-hot iron rod two pairs of holes were burned in the sideboards at both sides of each prong, the outer surfaces of the lower portions of the prongs were grooved, and were tied to the sideboards by buckskin thongs passed through the grooves and the sideboard holes.

^ [See category 492, p. 358-C--Analyst]

The buffalo rawhide used for covering the frame^A was first soaked in 492 a pond or stream for several days until it became green and foul smelling. It was then stretched on the ground, hair side up, boiling water 281 was thrown upon it, and the hair was taken off with a rock. The woman then turned the hide over and scraped the flesh from the underside with a hide scraper. The hair side was not scraped, as that would have made the hide too thin. The hide was then stretched over the saddle frame, fitted, cut and finally sewn with rawhide cord. The stitches were placed on the inside of the saddle where they would not be seen when the saddle was in use. (Fig. 13.)

Care had to be taken that the saddle did not warp as the tough raw- 492 hide dried and shrunk. Two methods of preventing warping were described. Three Calf said his grandmother placed a newly 281 sewn saddle over a log about the size of a horse's back and tied it down 322 until the rawhide dried. Lazy Boy's mother rolled up an old lodge cover tightly and forced it between the side bars of the saddle, then she wrapped a cord around the saddle and cover to bind them securely until the rawhide saddle covering dried.[49]

After the saddle cover dried, two holes were burned near each end 492 of both sideboards used for tying: (1) the grass-stuffed soft skin pads which ran parallel and underneath the sideboards and (2) the rawhide rigging straps fastened to the outside of the sideboards. A fully rigged saddle is shown in figure 14. The rigging straps on the left side of the saddle looped about the cinch ring, which was commonly of rawhide. The ring shown in figure 14 was considered a very strong 492 one. It was made by coiling narrow rawhide cord, wrapping the coils 281 with more rawhide cord, and covering the circle thus formed with a tubing of rawhide. Another type of ring was of two rawhide disks of the same size sewn together. It was not considered as strong as the first type. Informants regarded this as the most important link in 492 the girthing. It had to be as strong as possible. Lazy Boy said that about the year 1860 (i. e. "when the first steamboat came to Fort Benton") the Piegan began to obtain metal girth rings from traders. A 492 metal girth ring was expensive, being worth, at that time, a coyote or 177 fox skin in trade. Only rich people could afford them. But the Blackfoot recognized their superior strength. Before the buffalo disappeared the metal rings declined in value and most Blackfoot women procured them for their saddles. About the time these metal girth

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[49] George Catlin's illustration of a Crow lodge shows a saddle drying beside the lodge. [171] The saddle is staked to the ground to hold it in shape (Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, pl. 20). Another Catlin illustration (reproduced in Wissler, 1915, fig. 1) shows this same drying method. A Kiowa informant said women of his tribe staked their frame saddles out to dry. However, Blackfoot informants, when told of that method, thought it would be a very good way to dry saddles, but said they had never heard of Blackfoot women making use of it.

A [i.e., the frame of a woman's saddle--Analyst]

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

492 rings were introduced smaller metal rings useful for hondas also began to be offered in trade.

177 The cinch was a band of rawhide about 4 inches wide. One end was doubled and tied around the girth ring on the left side of the

492 saddle. The band passed under the horse's belly and was fastened to the rawhide or metal ring suspended from the rigging straps on the right side of the saddle. Several methods of fastening were

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[284]

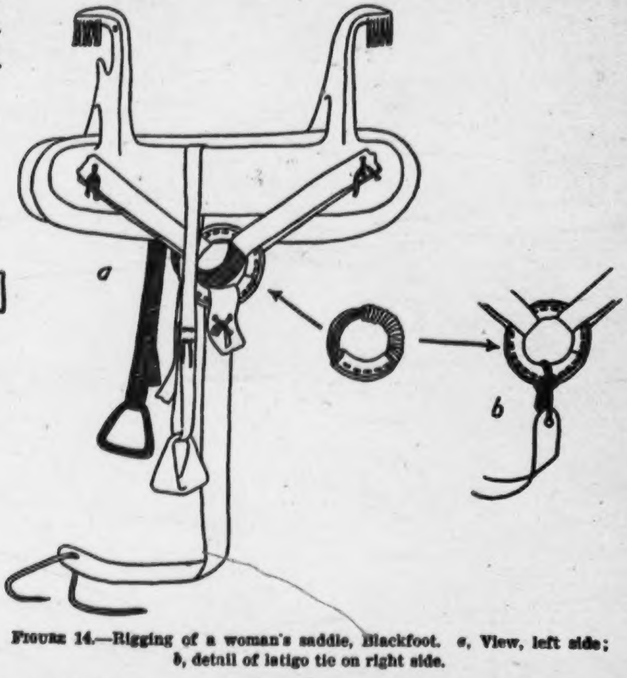

FIGURE 14.—Rigging of a woman's saddle, Blackfoot. *a*, View, left side; *b*, detail of latigo tie on right side.

492 employed. The simplest method was to punch a hole near the loose end of the girth, pass a rawhide latigo cord through it and tie the cord to the right-side ring. Some people preferred to fold the end of the girth and sew it to give the added strength of two thicknesses of rawhide at the point of strain. Another common method of securing the girth was to sew a rawhide or metal ring in the end of the girth band, and tie this ring to the right-side ring suspended from

[284] the rigging straps with a rawhide cord. Some people used a half

hitch to make this tie, leaving the end tucked back so that it could be pulled out quickly in taking off the saddle. Horses always were saddled from the right side.[80] 492 [284]

A feature of the wood saddle that puzzled some informants was the spike in the front of the pommel. Double-Victory-Calf-Robe said this spike was "Crow style" taken over by the Blackfoot. She had heard that Blackfoot women's saddles of the early 19th century did not have this feature. Mrs. Cree Medicine claimed the spike served solely as a hook on which to hang the whip. Three Calf thought its main purpose was to indicate which end was the front of the saddle. Wissler has explained the use of the hook for the suspension of a rawhide seat which was attached at the back of the cantle by a wooden pin passed through a loop in the rawhide cover. He said "the hook has apparently become conventional, because it is found on saddles where the support is not used and the eye is wanting, though these are said to be degenerate forms" (Wissler, 1910, p. 94). Judging from the differences of opinion among my older informants regarding the function of the hook and the absence of any mention of the eye or seat, it would appear that the suspended seat was uncommon among the Blackfoot in the last two decades of buffalo days.[81] [177]

Wood saddles were decorated with buckskin fringes pendent from the disks of both pommel and cantle, or with long, triangular beaded or quilled flaps suspended from the outer margins of these disks. Some women decorated their saddles by driving round-headed brass tacks into the pommel and cantle. 492 531

Blackfoot and Blood informants regarded the wood saddle as a woman's saddle. It was used on the travois, and sometimes on pack horses, as well as on riding horses. However, men did not ride the wood saddle, unless they had no pad or "prairie chicken snare" saddle. 492

DISTRIBUTION OF THE "WOOD SADDLE"

The distinguishing characteristics of the "wood saddle" are found in the pommel and cantle. They are of carved wood, and are of the same design, the cantle being the same form as the pommel in reverse. A characteristic of the Blackfoot "wood saddle," the large, flattened disk-shaped, horizontal projections of the pommel and cantle, is also found in the "wood saddles" of other northern Plains 492 177 and Plateau tribes. Lewis and Clark's description of Lemhi Shoshoni women's saddles seen in 1805, mentioned the high pommels and cantles as "ending sometimes in a flat point extending outward" (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 562). Miller's illustrations of Shoshoni women's saddles in the 1830's, show that characteristic. Gustavus Sohon pictured the "wood saddle" type in use among the Flathead in the 1850's (pl. 4). In the United States National Museum is a fine old example of this type marked "Columbia River" collected prior to 1867 (No. 2541). These collections also include examples of this type from the Ute (Nos. 11035 and 11036, collected by Powell in 1872), and Paiute in southern Utah (No. 14637, collected by Powell in 1874). The earliest dated specimen of this type I have seen from the Plains, is the Sioux saddle collected by Jarvis, probably in the period 1833–36. This saddle, termed a "pack saddle" in the collector's handwriting, is now in the Brooklyn Museum (Acc. No. 50–67–52) (see pl. 3, *b*). There are two Crow saddles of this type in the United States National Museum collected prior to 1870 (Nos. 6468 and 8521).

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[80] An examination of the Plains Indian saddles in the collections of the U. S. National Museum to which the rigging is attached shows that this was a widespread Plains Indian custom. [171]

[81] With this feature in mind, I have examined the saddles in the collections of the U. S. National Museum known to have been made and collected before the buffalo disappeared. The majority of these Plains Indian saddles have neither suspended seats nor provisions for the pins in the backs of the cantles necessary for their use, although nearly all the wood saddles have hook projections on the pommels. Since Indian women generally placed a buffalo robe over their saddles before mounting, the need for a suspended rawhide seat seems questionable. [127] [171]

Women's saddles from the southern Plains tribes are of somewhat different design. Their pommels and cantles curve outward near the tops, which are concave in section. A Comanche saddle of that type was collected by Dr. E. Palmer in 1868 (U. S. N. M. No. 6916). Mooney obtained a number of saddles of this type from the Kiowa in 1891. I have also seen Cheyenne and Osage saddles of this type in museum collections. An elderly Kiowa Apache woman told me this was the traditional woman's saddle of her tribe.

This appears to have been a southern Plains variant of the wood saddle. It would appear proper to distinguish the Blackfoot type as a northwestern one in view of its distribution in the northern Plains and Plateau.

The origin of the "wood saddle" is difficult to determine. Wissler (1915, p. 33) has pointed out the difficulty of tracing Indian saddles to Mexican or Spanish prototypes because "while we have a fine series of specimens from the Indians we have very little of the kind from the period of Spanish colonization." Perhaps he should have added that we have no really early Plains Indian saddles either. The oldest dated "wood saddle" (the Sioux saddle, pl. 3, *b*) was collected in the 1830's, nearly two centuries after the Plains Indians began to obtain horses. By that time the Plains tribes had been subjected to French, English, and American influences, through the fur trade, as well as to influences from Mexico. It is significant also that Mexican saddlery changed after the period of the conquistadores. In fact Mexican historians have claimed that by the period of the second Viceroy of New Spain, Don Luis de Velasco (1550–64), the "silla mexicana," a saddle distinct from that introduced by Cortez, was already in use in Mexico

(Rangel, 1924, pp. 13 ff.; Villar, 1941, p. 278). Yet I have seen no 171
specimen or illustration of a specimen of a well-documented Mexican
frame saddle dating prior to the third decade of the 19th century.
I have found no reference to a Mexican saddle exhibiting the distinctive characteristic of the Plains and Plateau Indian woman's saddle
(i. e. pommel and cantle of like shape, reversed). Unless and until 171
proof can be found that this general feature of Indian women's saddles was also characteristic of some of the saddles ridden by Mexicans, 492
French, English, or Americans prior to 1800, I shall be of the opinion 177
that the design of the Indian "wood saddle" was not copied directly from Whites, but was a remodeled adaptation of the white man's wooden frame saddle in the construction of which the Indians exercised considerable ingenuity.

THE "PRAIRIE CHICKEN SNARE SADDLE"

A frame saddle with low-arched horn pommel and cantle was known 492
to the Blackfoot as a "prairie chicken snare saddle." The sideboards and girthing of this saddle were like those of the "wood saddle." It differed only in the material and form of the pommel and cantle. Plate 3, *a*,^ illustrates a "prairie chicken snare saddle" of Blackfoot origin from the collections of the Museum of the Plains Indian (Cat. No. 1871). The sideboards measure 19 inches long. The pommel is 8½ inches high, and cantle 8¼ inches.

In the manufacture of the "prairie chicken snare saddle" two sec-
tions of fresh-killed elk or black-tailed deer antler were softened in 492
warm water to make them pliable. Then they were bent and cut 321
to the desired shape. One piece served for the cantle, the other, of like size and shape, for the pommel. In tying the antlers to the sideboards some women burned holes through the antlers near their ends for the buckskin tie strings. Others grooved the antlers horizontally and passed the tie strings through these grooves and holes burned in the sideboards at the ends of the grooves (fig. 15). Mrs. Cree Medicine considered the second method the stronger one. The saddle was then covered with green rawhide and protected from warping while the rawhide dried and set by the same methods employed in the making of "wood saddles."

In my older informants' youth the "prairie chicken snare saddle" 492
was the nearest approach to an all-purpose saddle known to the Blackfoot. Older men, children, and some women used it for a riding saddle. Young men preferred it to the pad saddle for riding on long journeys. It was used on the travois and as a pack saddle in moving camp. It was the favorite saddle employed in packing butchered buffalo. When used for packing, some people sewed V-shaped raw-

^ [See category 492, p. 358-B--Analyst]

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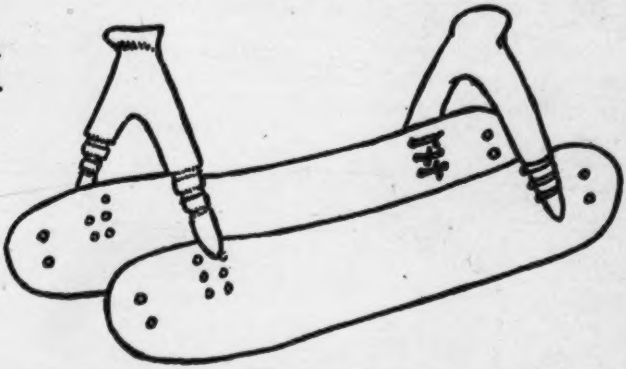

FIGURE 15.—Construction of a "prairie chicken snare saddle," Blackfoot.

492 hide flaps to the centers of pommel and cantle. Holes were punched in the flaps and, after the load was in place, a rawhide line was passed back and forth over the pack and through these holes and tied to hold
[531] the load securely and prevent its shifting. This saddle^ was never decorated. It could be made with less time and effort than either the pad or wood saddle. Thus it was less valuable. These factors undoubtedly encouraged its wide use.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE "PRAIRIE CHICKEN SNARE SADDLE"

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171 There is every reason to believe that the "prairie chicken snare saddle" is not an old type among the Plains Indians. Alexander Henry made no mention of it in his description of Blackfoot saddles in 1809. Bradley, writing in the 1870's, was the first to mention the use of elkhorn in Blackfoot saddle construction. This saddle type does not appear in the works of artists who interpreted the Plains Indians from personal observations in the field prior to 1850. Kurz did not illustrate it in his many representations of saddles seen by him among the Upper Missouri tribes in 1851-52. In his description of the Cheyenne use of this saddle type, Grinnell (1923, vol. 1, p. 207) termed it a comparatively modern invention of the Kiowa, from whom the Cheyenne learned how to make it.

If we may credit this explanation of the origin of the "prairie chicken snare saddle," we must recognize that the type spread rapidly over the Plains and deep into the Plateau as far as the Sanpoil and Thompson (Ray, 1932, p. 118; Wissler, 1915, fig. 20). Its use by Coeur d'Alene, Plains Cree, and Teton Dakota has been reported

^ [i.e., a "prairie chicken snare saddle"—Analyst]

(Teit, 1930, p. 110; Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 196; Densmore, 1948, p. 204). The collections of the United States National Museum contain 492 examples of this saddle type from the Crow, Northern and Southern 171 Cheyenne, and Kiowa. Kiowa informants spoke of its use by that tribe both as a man's riding saddle and pack saddle. Pierre Pichette said the Flathead commonly used this type as a pack saddle.

Certainly the type differed markedly from the pack saddle with crossed wooden pommel and cantle commonly employed by American fur traders on the Plains and in the Rockies in the period 1837–51 (see Miller's sketch, pl. 85, Ross, 1951; Kurz, 1937, pl. 32).

STIRRUPS

All types of Blackfoot saddles were equipped with stirrups when 492 used for riding. In 1809, Alexander Henry observed that the Blackfoot "stirrup attached to the frame by a leather thong, is a piece of bent wood, over which is stretched raw buffalo hide, making it firm and strong" (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 2, p. 527). Informants [322] said stirrups were made of green, flat strips of cottonwood or poplar that could be bent without heating. They were covered with wet [237] buffalo rawhide or scrotum sewn with rawhide cord. Stirrup straps were of rawhide about 1 finger wide, looped over the side bars of frame saddles and through the centre openings in the stirrups. Generally these straps were simply tied at the ends to the desired length. The use of toggle or buckle fastenings was not common.

USE OF WHITE MEN'S SADDLES AND ACCESSORIES

Aged Blackfoot informants readily admitted that "white men's 492 saddles" were stronger and better fitting than the ones the Indians made themselves. Apparently their ancestors held the same belief. 177 We know the Piegan were familiar with Spanish saddles at least as early as 1787, when David Thompson saw a number of saddles a Piegan war party had brought back from a raid on a Spanish party far to the south (Thompson, 1916, p. 371). In 1856, Denig (1952, p. 148) reported "the Blackfoot and Crow Nations perceive at once the convenience and utility of European articles, especially portions of clothing, horse gears and other things . . . [they] will pay well for a good saddle." In 1858, the Blackfoot requested Agent Hatch for a few strong saddles, at least enough for their chiefs, to be included in their annuity goods received under the terms of their 1855 treaty with the United States (U. S. Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1858, p. 438). Lazy Boy said that some wealthy Piegan purchased saddles from Joe Kipp's trading post on the Marias before 1880. However, the ma-

492 177 jority of the members of the tribe continued to use native-made saddles until stock saddles were issued to them by the Government in the early Reservation Period.[89]

SADDLE BLANKETS

492 237 Blackfoot riders placed blankets of skin under all types of saddles to prevent their saddles from chafing the horses' backs. In 1809, Alexander Henry reported, "Under each kind of saddle are placed two or three folds of soft dressed buffalo skin, to keep the horse from getting a sore back" (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 2, p. 527). In my informants' youth the Blackfoot preferred a saddle blanket made from the shoulders of a buffalo where the hair was long, or the breast where the hide was thickest. Most people used an undecorated hide with the hair on, rectangular in shape. The blanket was either doubled, hair side out, with the fold at the front of the saddle, or single thickness with the hair side next to the horse. Usually the blanket extended 2 or 3 inches beyond the saddle at front and back. Blankets placed under pack saddles were longer, in order to prevent the horse's back from being rubbed by any part of the load. [531] The doubled blanket sometimes was ridden without a saddle. Some saddle blankets of single thickness were decorated with red-flannel edging all around, or a double edging comprising an outer border of red flannel about 3 fingers wide and an inner border of white cloth 1 finger wide.[90]

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[171] [89] Other Plains and Plateau tribes appear to have followed the practice of using Spanish or American saddles whenever they could procure them. Lewis and Clark found some Spanish saddles among the Lemhi Shoshoni in 1805 (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, pp. 520, 560). Jacques d'Eglise reported "saddles . . . in Mexican style" used by the Mandan in 1792 (Nasitir, 1927, p. 58). Scattered through the records of the American Fur Co. (papers in the N. Y. Historical Society) are listings of saddles bought by Pratte, Chouteau & Co. of St. Louis. Sufficient quantities are listed to indicate that the saddles were purchased for the Indian trade and not merely for the use of field employees of the company. Maximilian (1833) said that the Mandan "sometimes obtain saddles from the whites, which they line and ornament with red and blue cloth" (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, p. 345). These may have been of the California saddle type, which Marcy termed the favorite of the mountain men (Marcy, 1859, pp. 118–120), and which seems to have been pictured in a number of Kurz' drawings of fur traders and a few Indians of the Upper Missouri in 1851–52 (Kurz, 1937). One of the most interesting saddles in the collections of the U. S. National Museum is a U. S. Cavalry saddle reported to have been taken from Indians who had participated in the Custer Massacre, 2 weeks after that event. The Indians had stripped it of its commercial leather rigging and equipped it with Indian-made stirrup straps, stirrups, and cinch (Cat. No. 59,741). However, many Plains Indian saddles obtained in the field before the end of buffalo days have parts (rigging straps, stirrup straps, and/or girths) of commercial leather or cloth, in addition to metal girth rings, obtained from Whites. Some of the saddles bearing the earliest dates of collecton have the most commercial leather used in their rigging. It seems apparent that Indians tried to adopt as much of the white man's saddlery as they could afford. If they had not the means to obtain a trade saddle, perhaps they could at least acquire, strong, long wearing, trade materials for rigging their native saddles. In view of these circumstances it is impossible to date Indian saddles on the basis of the degree of acculturation shown by their rigging. Some of the specimens employing only native materials probably are of more recent manufacture than many specimens using trade materials in their construction.

[171] [90] The Blackfoot did not make the fancy saddle cloth of soft skin or canvas with heavily beaded borders such as were used by the Teton Dakota, Crow, Cheyenne, Ute, and Shoshoni

SADDLE HOUSINGS

"When an Indian is going to mount he throws his buffalo robe over the saddle, and rides on it," wrote Alexander Henry of the Blackfoot 492
in 1809 (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 2, p. 526). This practice 237]
was continued until the end of buffalo days. A buffalo robe was folded and placed over the center of the "prairie chicken snare saddle" or the "wood saddle" before the rider mounted. By the time this thick padding was added to the wood saddle the lofty pommel and cantle did not appear so high. The buffalo robe seems to have been the most common housing for frame saddles among the Plains tribes. In recent years Blackfoot women riding the wood saddle or even the stock saddle in Fourth of July parades have thrown a large, trade blanket over the saddle and modestly tucked the pendent ends around their legs to conceal them.

In my informants' youth young men liked to drape a mountain-lion skin over their pad saddles as a housing. This showy skin was arranged so that the animal head fell over one side, the tail the other. Maximilian (1833) observed Blackfoot fondness for mountain-lion
skin saddle housings. He noted that the skin was edged with a broad [531]
band of scarlet cloth, and that the Blackfoot valued it at a good horse [435]
or seldom less than $60. Bodmer's excellent lithograph of a Blackfoot man on horseback illustrates the use of the mountain-lion skin housing at that time (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, p. 107, and Atlas, pl. 19).[84]

MARTINGALES AND CRUPPERS

Martingales and cruppers had both practical and ostentatious value
for the Blackfoot. They were used on the travois or pack horse to 492
keep the load from slipping. Men generally used cruppers on riding [531]
horses only when traveling in mountainous country to hold the saddle in place. When moving camp or when on parade the favorite wives
of wealthy men liked to dress up their horses with showy martingales 492
and cruppers. The prevalence of elaborately decorated martingales 531
and cruppers in the Fourth of July parade at Browning and at the [541]
Calgary Stampede in recent years is no indication of their com- [178]

(Wissler, 1915, fig. 18, p. 17). However, I have found no description of the use of such
cloths in the early accounts of those tribes. Those elaborately decorated cloths probably [492]
were late 19th century developments. The buffalo-skin saddle blanket seems to have been
the most common type among the Plains tribes. However, the Plateau tribes, who had 531
less access to buffalo, used saddle blankets of deer, bear, or mountain goat skin, or of woven
matting (Teit, 1900, p. 258; 1909, p. 534; 1930, p. 111; Ray, 1932, p. 118; Turney-High, 171
1941, p. 72).

[84] Maximilian said the Crow followed the same custom (ibid., vol. 22, p. 349). 237
Opler (1941, p. 396) was told that the Chiricahua Apache liked to drape a mountain-lion skin
over the saddle bag to make it look nice, and that they followed Mexican example in this [171]
practice. Whether the Mexican custom goes back to the Colonial Period has not been determined.

492 monness in buffalo days. In former times those objects[A] were indices
of their owner's wealth and status.

531 Bodmer illustrated a fancy crupper on a Blackfoot man's horse
[541] in 1833 (Maximilian, 1906, Atlas, pl. 19). However, the earliest pic-
[178] torial representation of the elaborately decorated martingale and crup-
per combination I have seen appears in Sohon's 1855 field sketch, "The
[556] Bloods Come in Council" (pl. 4).[B] In size and shape the pieces portrayed by Bodmer and Sohon resemble specimens collected in more recent years. Bradley (1870's) stated that the Blackfoot woman's ornamental crupper had a fringe of horsehair to the lower ends of which little bells were attached. In my informants' youth cut buckskin fringes were also used. The ornamental crupper had a soft skin or trade flannel base. It was decorated with beadwork or (if of skin) in angular painted designs "something like a parfleche design." In more recent times (since ca. 1875) floral designs, combined with the double-curve have been employed commonly. Martingales were similarly ornamented (Wissler, 1915, fig. 15; Ewers, 1945 b, figs. 61-63).

Much more common in buffalo days were martingales and cruppers
492 of narrow bands of rawhide, used on the riding horses of both sexes and on pack animals. The martingale was a rawhide band about 3 fingers wide, tied to the prongs of the pommel of the wood saddle by rawhide cords. The crupper was a single or double strip about the same width throughout most of its length, extended by means of a grass-padded loop, strengthened with soft skin binding, under the horse's tail. It was tied to the front or rear horn prongs of the frame
[531] saddle with buckskin cord (fig. 16). Some women painted the sur-

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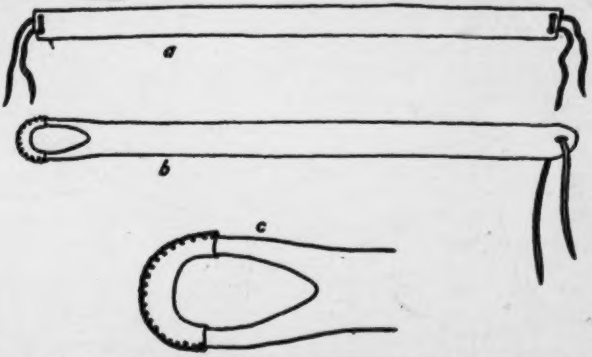

FIGURE 16.—a, Simple rawhide martingale; b, simple rawhide crupper; c, detail of crupper tail pad, Blackfoot.

[A] [i.e., elaborately decorated martingales and cruppers —Analyst]

[B] [See category 492, p. 358-C—Analyst]

faces of these rawhide martingales and cruppers in geometric designs. 492
Weasel Tail said the first crupper he used as a young man (ca. 1875) [531]
was a white man's harness crupper obtained in trade.[58] [177]

WHIPS

Maximilian (1833) observed, "In general every Blackfoot carries a whip as well as weapons in his hand" (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, p. 103). Bradley (1870's) wrote, "They were unacquainted with spurs, but used a whip consisting of a wood, bone or horn handle, some fifteen inches long, and a double lash of rawhide, from twenty to twenty-four inches long. A loop of skin was attached to the handle of the whip, by which it was suspended to the wrist" (Bradley, 1923, p. 263). These measurements agree closely with Wissler's measurements of Blackfoot handles and lashes on specimens collected a half century ago (Wissler, 1910, p. 96).

Informants pointed out that whips were kept in the possession of mounted Indians at all times. They might serve as weapons in a fight. 411 Men also found their whips useful implements for beating their wives if they misbehaved.

Generally men and women made their own whips. Thoughtful 492 makers permitted the leather of the wrist hanger to extend farther

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[58] The elaborately beaded horse collar made by the Crow and some Plateau tribes in the late years of the 19th century (Douglas, 1937; Lowie, 1922 b, p. 314, fig. 12; Teit, 1930, p. 354, fig. 37), probably was a late development. Catlin's illustration of a Crow man mounted for participation in a sham battle at the Hidatsa villages in 1832, portrays a fancy martingale similar to the Blackfoot type. The same illustration shows an elaborate crupper, which the author described as "embossed and fringed with rows of beautiful shells and porcupine quills of various colors (Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, pl. 76, p. 192). Alfred Jacob Miller depicted a fancy crupper decorated with quills and beadwork in his illustration of a Sioux woman on horseback in 1837 (Ross, 1951, pl. 72). He portrayed elaborately fringed cruppers on women's horses in other illustrations of the same year (ibid., pls. 9, 96, 131, 188). In 1851, Kurz (1937) drew decorated cruppers on horses belonging to Potawatomi, Omaha, Iowa, and Crow. Hillers' 1873 photograph of a Uintah Ute woman on horseback shows an elaborate crupper and martingale similar to ones used by Blackfoot women (Steward, 1939, pl. 80). An Omaha decorated crupper of the period 1855, is illustrated in Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pl. 48. Mooney collected a painted and beaded skin crupper from the Kiowa (Cat. No. 152,829, U. S. N. M.). However, my Kiowa informants said the most common crupper in their tribe was of rawhide 2 inches wide. [171] [531]

Undoubtedly the greater attractiveness of decorated cruppers of elaborate design caused collectors to secure them in preference to the simple rawhide ones for museum collections. Fortunately, however, the series of Plains Indian saddles in the U. S. National Museum includes many cruppers that were attached to saddles obtained prior to 1880. The majority of these cruppers are of rawhide, painted or unpainted, much like the common form of Blackfoot crupper described above. A few are of commercial leather, including a Teton Dakota specimen obtained after the Slim Buttes Battle in 1876, which is obviously a white man's harness crupper complete with metal buckles (Cat. No. 276,607).

It seems unlikely that the use of martingales and cruppers was an Indian invention. The elaborate ones may be adaptations of Spanish-Mexican pieces such as the ones illustrated in the Codex Baranda (Wissler, 1915, p. 33). The more simple, rawhide ones may have been adapted from those in use among the fur traders in the Plains and Rockies in the second quarter of the 19th century. Miller's (1837) illustrations show the simple crupper in place on the horses of many fur traders as well as a few Indian-owned horses (Ross, 1951). Kurz (1937, pl. 32) shows the simple crupper on a trader's horse sketched August 28, 1851.

492 than necessary so that if the front of the handle cracked they could
turn the whip around and use the hanger end for the lash until they
492 had an opportunity to make a new whip. Women generally made
whip handles of serviceberry. A hole was burned through the handle
322 about 2 inches from the lash end, and shallow channels were cut in
283 each side leading from this hole to the lash end of the handle. A narrow rawhide lash was pushed through the hole and passed through a longitudinal slit in the rawhide at the end of the handle. The two ends were then braided a few times. The remainder of the lashing hung loose. One or two inches from the other end of the handle another hole was burned through which the rawhide wrist hanger was passed.

492 Elkhorn-handled whips were made while the horn was green.
The honeycomb center at the front end of the handle was burned out
321 with a hot wire. A small hole was then burned at one side of the handle about 2 inches from the front. The rawhide lashing was then doubled and the folded end pushed into the front hole far enough so that a wooden or antler plug could be driven into the side hole to hold the rawhide in place. The wrist hanger was attached as was that of the wooden-handled whip. Some wooden-handled ones also used the plug method of lash attachment (fig. 17).

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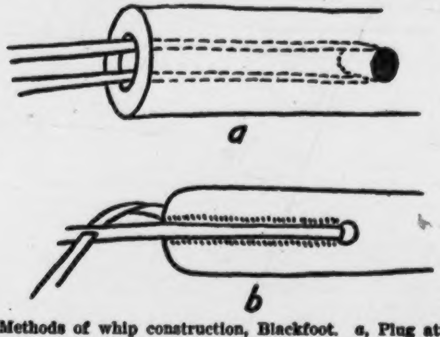

FIGURE 17.—Methods of whip construction, Blackfoot. *a*, Plug attachment of lash in an elkhorn-handled whip; *b*, channel attachment of lash in a wooden-handled whip.

492 These were the most common Blackfoot whip types. However,
other forms were made occasionally. A unique specimen is the whip
492 with a wooden handle carved in the form of a horse's head, in the
collections of the Museum of the Plains Indian. This whip was used
796 by the medicine women during the ritualized preliminary marches
[532] to the Sun Dance encampment. However, the whip employed in the

Horse Dance, the cult ceremony of the horse medicine men, was of conventional type (pl. 16, *B*, *e*).[96] 492 796

HORSE DECORATION

Some young men among the Blackfoot roached the manes or split the ears of their favorite mounts "just to make them look pretty." However, most horse decorations were of a more temporary character, employed on special occasions. These occasions were: (1) in the "riding big dance" preliminary to a raid for scalps, (2) in battle, (3) on return to camp from a successful horse raid, (4) on visiting other tribes, (5) in sham battles honoring visitors, and (6) in the ritual camp movements immediately preceding the establishment of the Sun Dance encampment in late summer. 492 231

In the 1870's, Bradley mentioned the main types of Blackfoot horse decoration. "On occasion of ceremony the horses were ornamented with dashes of paint on the face and body and with feathers fastened to the mane and tail and sometimes by a mask made of the head of the buffalo, the horns attached, the eyes of the horse appearing through the original eye holes of the skin" (Bradley, 1923, p. 263). The limited comparative data available is sufficient to show that none of these methods of ornamentation was peculiar to the Blackfoot. [171]

HEAD ORNAMENTS

Among the valuable possessions of the second chief of the North Blackfoot, Old Sun, seen by Wilson in 1887, was— 492 714

> a very elaborate headgear for a horse to wear when going into battle. One part of it covered the head like a mask, holes being left for the eyes, and was fitted with a pair of horns; the other part was a sort of banner, to be suspended to the

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[96] The common Blackfoot types of elkhorn and wooden-handled whips were widely diffused in the Plains and Plateau. Maximilian (1833) mentioned both wood and elkhorn-handled whips in use among the Assiniboin. However, he claimed the Mandan whip handles were of wood only, and mentioned only elkhorn-handled whips among the Crow (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 22, pp. 349, 391; vol. 23, pp. 10, 345). However, Larocque, while traveling with the Crow in the summer of 1805, noted that they stopped on the Little Horn to procure whip handles. "There is plenty of ash here. There were few persons in the Camp that were not employed in making themselves horse whip handles with that wood; it was with that design that they came here, as that wood is seldom found elsewhere" (Larocque, 1910, p. 38). Omaha used both wood and "bone" whip handles (Dorsey, 1896, p. 280). Both types were employed by the Plateau tribes (Teit, 1930, pp. 111, 354. Kiowa informants spoke only of wooden-handled whips, cedar preferred, in use among their people. However I have seen elkhorn-handled whips collected from that tribe. A whip said to have been used by the Sac and Fox chief Keokuk, in 1832, is in the U. S. National Museum collections (No. 167, 149). The handle is of horn, the lash of rawhide. Were it not for its elaborately beaded wrist hanger, this specimen could be lost in Blackfoot collections. [171]

Trade whips were furnished the Indians at an early date. In February 1835, Pratte, Chouteau & Co. of St. Louis ordered "4 dozen Riding whips for Indians, Showy, and not high priced" from the American Fur Co., in New York (American Fur Co. Pap., N. Y. Hist. Soc., Orders Inward, book 1, p. 59). However, the Mexican braided-horsehair quirt does not appear to have been common among the Plains Indians. [177]

[See category 778, p. 358-0--Analyst]

> 492 714 lower jaw; both parts were profusely decorated with red, yellow, and blue feathers. We were told that such a headdress as this was, in Indian estimation, worth a couple of horses. [Wilson, 1887, p. 190.]

In the eighties, Frederic Remington, the artist, saw "the equipment of a Blackfoot war pony, composed of a mask and bonnet gorgeous with red flannel, brass tack heads, silver plates and feathers . . . " (Remington, 1889, p. 340). Wissler (1913, p. 457, fig. 29) reproduced native drawings of masks employed in the "riding big dance" by the Piegan.[57]

492 [531] [541] I have seen a single example of Blackfoot horse headgear. It was a beautiful mask made of a single piece of skin entirely covered with porcupine-quill work, which fitted over the forehead and face of a horse. Holes were cut for the eyes. This specimen, which was probably not over 50 years old, was said to have been used by the Piegan in dress parades. It was owned by the late Mrs. John B. Monteith of Glacier Park Station, who showed it to me in 1942.

BODY PAINT

492 231 [703] [727] [535] The Blackfoot favored red paint for decorating the bodies of their horses. Some young men daubed round spots on both hips of their horses solely for ornament. If a man ran over an enemy while riding in battle he was privileged to paint a hand on both shoulders of his war horse. Just before a returning horse-raiding party entered their home camp, its members stopped to paint red, horizontal lines across the foreheads of their stolen horses. Wissler (1913, p. 457, fig. 29) has described and reproduced native drawings of body painting on horses in the "riding big dance."[58]

MANE AND TAIL ORNAMENTS

492 A Blackfoot on the warpath braided the tail of his horse part way, tied the end of the tail in a knot, and fastened a feather in it with a buckskin cord. Weasel Tail claimed the three Blackfoot tribes, the Gros Ventres, and Sarsi all followed this practice so they could tell their horses from those of their enemies. In the summer of 1942,

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[171] [57] In 1806 Alexander Henry accompanied an Hidatsa trading party to a Cheyenne village. When they neared their destination some of the Cheyenne rode out to meet them on fine horses some of which "were masked in a very singular manner, to imitate the head of a buffalo, red deer, or cabbrie with horns, the mouth and nostrils—even the eyes—trimmed with red cloth. This ornamentation gave them a very fierce appearance (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 1, p. 377). Whether the elaborate Blackfoot and Cheyenne horse headgear was in any way influenced by Spanish horse armor is problematical. Certainly the horned feature appears to have been a native invention.

[171] [58] Lewis and Clark noted that among the Lemhi Shoshoni visited in 1805, "a favorite (horse) is frequently painted" (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 563). Teit claimed Flathead "horses were often painted" (Teit 1930, p. 353). An Omaha man "frequently painted his horse to represent a valorous act . . . or in a manner intended as a representation of a vision" (Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pp. 352–353.)

In the summer of 1942,
I saw an elderly Piegan tie two feathers in the tail of the horse of a middle-aged man which was to be ridden in the Fourth of July, 492
parade at Browning. (This ornament is now in the Denver Art Museum, Cat. No. FB1-95-G.) [541]
The old man then said a short prayer that the horse might not fall or throw its rider. This also is said [782]
to have been an old Blackfoot custom.[illegible]

DECORATION OF WOMEN'S HORSES

A wealthy Blackfoot took pride in providing his favorite wife with fancy trappings for her riding horse, to be employed when visiting 492
neighboring camps or other friendly tribes, and when moving to the 556
Sun Dance encampment. These trappings, including decorated bridles, martingales, cruppers, saddlebags, and the finest painted rawhide containers obtainable, were thought to enhance the woman's appearance on horseback. [531]

[illegible] Lewis and Clark (1805) noted Lemhi Shoshoni practice of decorating the manes and tails of their horses with feathers (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 563.) The Crow claimed they tied up their horses' tails to make them run faster (Marquis, 1928, p. 114). Omaha young men occasionally "decked the manes and tails of their horses with bright ribbons or bands painted in gay colors" (Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, p. 358). [171]

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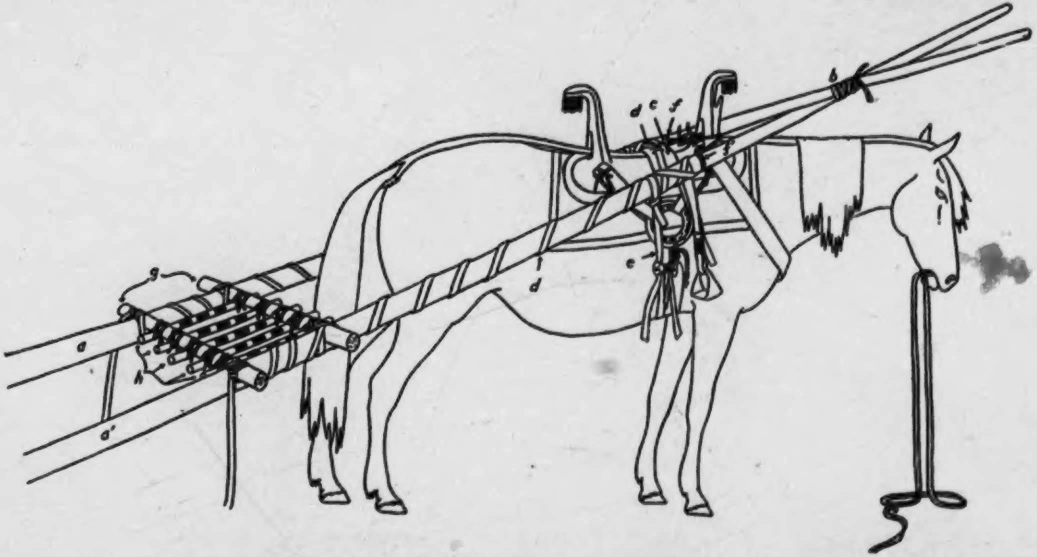

FIGURE 18.—Construction of a Blackfoot horse travois. *a*, *a'*, Shafts; *b*, forward tie; *c*, rawhide hitch pad; *d*, rawhide hitch and pole wrapping line; *e*, girth strap; *f*, *f'*, rawhide cord saddle ties; *g*, primary struts, loading platform; *h*, secondary struts, loading platform.

gether she was a lazy or incompetent worker. The Blackfoot referred 493
to the hitch as "my load." In addition to the rawhide pad and pole 398
wrapping line, the hitch included a cinch (*e*) of narrow rawhide rope
tied to one shaft, passed under the horse's belly and tied to the shaft [283]
on the other side. This cinch was tight enough to hold the load but not too tight to be uncomfortable to the horse. Two rawhide cords (*f* and *f'*) were wrapped around the shafts, forward of the hitch and tied to the prongs of the saddle to complete the securing of the shafts.

The Blackfoot spoke of the loading platform as "my broad road." It was composed of 2 transverse primary struts made of lodgepole pine, spaced about 20 inches apart (*g*). These struts were notched near each end, fitted over the shafts, and lashed in place with rawhide line. Secondary struts (*h*) of birch or serviceberry were placed about 5 inches apart at right angles to the primary struts. They were lashed underneath the primary struts, by wet tendons from the neck of a buffalo. These secondary struts in many cases were made of pieces of wood in the bark, from which evenly spaced bands of bark were peeled for decorative purposes. The front end of the loading platform generally was less than 2 feet from the horse's tail when the travois was in place.

TRAVOIS ACCESSORIES

The basic travois described above weighed about 50 pounds. Sometimes a cage of bent willows was added to give protection to children, the aged, or puppies carried on the loading platform on hot, sunny days. These willows were arched and tied to the loading platform at the ends and sides. The willow framework was covered with buffalo robes to keep out the sun.

Either a "wood saddle" or "prairie chicken snare saddle" was used 492 ●
on the travois horse. A martingale and crupper were employed to hold the saddle in place. The former was a plain strip of rawhide 3 fingers wide, tied at each end to the pommel prongs. The crupper was also most commonly of plain rawhide, 3 fingers wide, with padded tailpiece. Its forward portion passed under the rear horn of the saddle and tied to the prongs of the front horn (fig. 18).

TRAVOIS ADJUSTMENT AND REPAIR

Generally a travois lasted about a year in service over rough ground. 493
If conditions did not permit making a new travois the loading platform could be loosened and moved forward, or the worn butt ends 398
could be lengthened by taking two shorter pieces of pine or cottonwood, notching each in two places and lashing them to the underside of the travois platform at the primary strut crossings. Each short piece thus served as an extension to one of the old shafts. A make-

Black Boy made a horse travois for the permanent collections of the Museum of the Plains Indian in 1942.[66] 493

THE LODGEPOLE HITCH

A specialized gear, which I shall term the lodgepole hitch, was employed by the Blackfoot for transporting lodgepoles in moving camp. 492 An equal number of poles was dragged at each side of the horse or mule, the number varying with the size and weight of the poles employed in the owner's lodge and with the strength of the transport animal. 492 A small hole about one-half inch in diameter was burned through each pole about 18 inches from its upper end with a hot iron rod. The poles to be dragged by each animal were laid on the ground in two piles. A rawhide line was then threaded through each group of poles. They were then lifted to the sides of the animal and the two rawhide lines were tied together over the center of the horse's back. In some instances the poles were further secured by a rawhide line connecting the two groups of poles and passing under the animal's belly (fig. 19). However, many women omitted this line, pre-

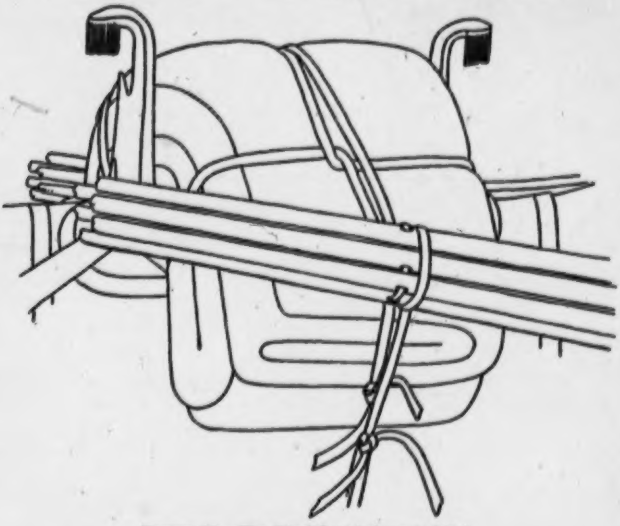

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FIGURE 19.—The Blackfoot lodgepole hitch.

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[66] The Blackfoot experience with Government issue wagons was paralleled on the Crow Reservation. Although they began to receive wagons as early as 1874, the Crow had little use for the light-weight, narrow-gage vehicles. They traded them to white men for more useful articles until the Indian Service forbade Whites to accept these ID-marked vehicles. Meanwhile the Crow continued to use "lodgepole transports" (Marquis, 1928, pp. 167, 126-127). Enoch Smoky claimed the Kiowa made little use of wagons before ca. 1890. [171]

492 ferring to let the poles joggle with the movement of the horse as camp moved. Short Face said it was important that the holes bored in the poles should be of small diameter, as wear during transport enlarged them. If the owner made the holes too large the poles would crack at those points. At best, lodgepoles lasted but 1 year owing to wear of the butt ends trailed on the ground as well as the friction at the holes.

493 Poor people, who owned few horses and small lodges with short, light poles, sometimes tied their poles in two bundles to the loading platform of travois, one bundle at each side, secured by rawhide cords. An improvised travois was also easily constructed by tying two or more crosspieces, similar to the primary struts of the travois loading platform, to the bundles of poles dragged by a horse. These crosspieces were placed in the approximate position of the loading platform of the true travois. Buffalo robes and bedding generally were transported on this makeshift travois, but children, the aged, and miscellaneous camp equipment also could be carried upon it. Too heavy a load, however, would spring the poles and render them useless as foundation supports for lodge covers.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE TRAVOIS AND METHODS OF POLE TRANSPORT

171 It is well to consider these methods of transportation together in discussing the distribution of the travois, as the two have been confused in the literature, even in the writings of professional ethnologists. For example, Bushnell (1922, fig. 3, p. 66) reproduces an old woodcut portraying a Dakota horse dragging lodgepoles after the fashion described above for the Blackfoot. The caption under the illustration reads "Horse Travois."

In reality the true travois, which can be defined as an A-shaped drag, comprising two shafts, a loading platform which is an integral part of the whole structure, and a hitch for attachment of the travois to the horse, had a relatively limited use among many tribes of the Plains and Plateau. The improvised travois made by tying a temporary loading platform between dragging bundles of lodgepoles was more common. While the method of dragging lodgepoles in moving camp, erroneously labeled "travois" by Bushnell, was virtually universal among these tribes.

Undoubtedly all of the tribes of the Plains were familiar with the true travois. It seems to have been most widely used as a litter for transporting the sick and injured rather than as a means of carrying camp equipment. Blackfoot informants mentioned use of the travois in moving those handicapped persons. In the 1830's Ferris observed that the Flathead conveyed the wounded "on litters consisting of two lodgepoles fastened on either side of a packhorse with skins stretched

171 springing the lodgepoles if too heavy loads were carried on them. These data indicate that the improvised travois probably had a wider [492] distribution than the true travois, and that a number of tribes used [493] both, just as the Blackfoot did.

The dome-shaped, willow frame, sunshade placed on the platform of either the true or improvised travois had a wide distribution. It is shown in the illustrations of Cheyenne and Dakota travois previously mentioned. It was mentioned in Parker's description of the litter employed in transporting the Comanche chief. Maximilian, in 1833, saw these "semi-globular, transparent wickerpanniers" in use among the Yankton Dakota (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 22, p. 309). Stansbury saw this "Light wicker canopy" on Teton Dakota travois in 1849 (Stansbury, 1852, p. 46). Kiowa informants said women of their tribe made these frames of dogwood. Apparently this accessory was almost as widely used as was the improvised travois.

The practice of dragging lodgepoles, divided into equal bundles suspended at the sides of a horse or mule, their butt ends dragging on the ground, appears to have been universal among tipi-using tribes of the Plains. My limited field data suggest that even the hitch was similar to that of the Blackfoot. Both Oglala and Kiowa informants stated that their tribes burned holes near the small ends of the poles, through which they were strung with rawhide lines. The Hidatsa used a red-hot iron about the size of a lead pencil to burn the holes about 2 feet from the ends of the poles (Wilson, 1924, pp. 193, 278–279, figs. 35, 105, 108).[61]

PRINCIPAL ITEMS OF LUGGAGE CARRIED BY PACK ANIMALS

THE PARFLECHE

415 The parfleche was much used as a container for carrying possessions on packhorses. This folded envelope of tough, long-wearing, water-492 proof rawhide was capable of considerable expansion when packed. Its construction and decoration by the Blackfoot have been described in detail (Wissler, 1910, pp. 79–82; Ewers, 1945 b, pp. 16–18). Its general form and method of folding is shown in figure 20.

Although some parfleches were carried on the travois when camp was moved they were most commonly transported in matched pairs, one each side of a packhorse. Hence they were generally made in

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[61] A number of early illustrations have been published showing horses or mules dragging lodgepoles in this general manner. (See Bushnell, 1922, fig. 3, for Teton; Ross, 1951, pl. 66 for Pawnee, and pl. 128 for Shoshoni; and Whipple, 1856, p. 21, for Kiowa.) An old stereopticon view in the files of the Division of Ethnology, U. S. National Museum, depicts Omaha use of this method. The picture is corroborated by the description in Fletcher and La Flesche (1911, p. 275). Curtis (1909, vol. 4, p. 226) described this method of transport as used by the Cheyenne. Pierre Pichette said the Flathead moved their lodgepoles in this manner while on prolonged winter hunts east of the Rockies.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 114]

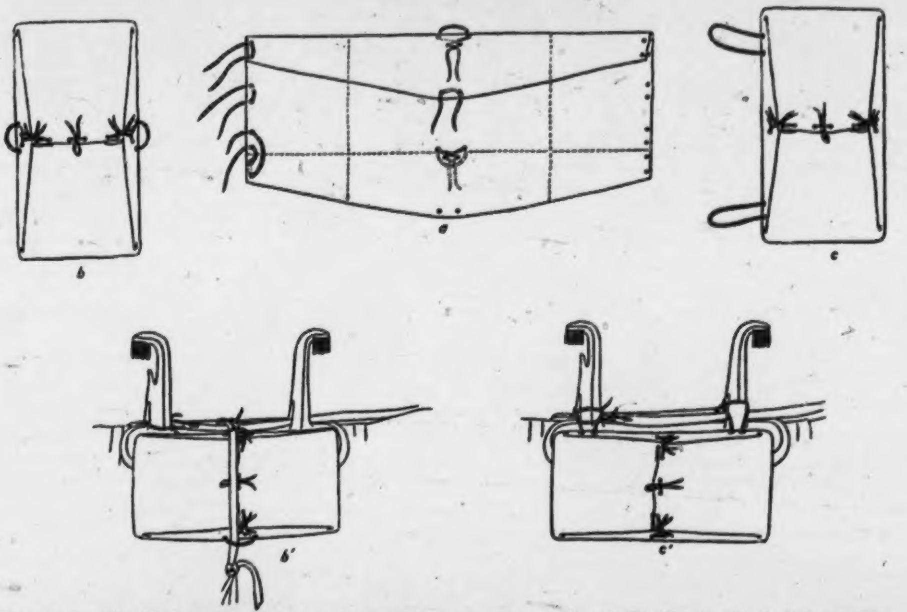

FIGURE 20.—The Blackfoot parfleche. *a*, Form and construction; *b*, *b′*, old Blackfoot method of transportation by packhorse; *c*, *c′*, method of transportation by packhorse adopted from Crow Indians.

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415 pairs, identical in size and decoration. Wissler (1910, p. 81) found that the average size of Blackfoot parfleches in the collections of the [492] American Museum of Natural History at that time was 60 cm. in length by 38 cm. in width. Probably the great majority of those specimens were made since the days when parfleches were in general use in moving camp. However, there is no indication that the sizes or proportions of Blackfoot parfleches changed materially after these [532] Indians settled on reservations. Parfleches were painted only on the flaps, the only portions visible when they were transported by packhorse. Thus use served to determine the field of decoration.

415 492 Blackfoot informants declared that there were two methods of attaching the parfleche to the horse in use among their people. They are illustrated in figure 20. The method claimed to have been the oldest among the Blackfoot is shown at the left (b, b'). Two holes were burned with a hot iron near the center of each long side of each parfleche, through which short cords of rawhide were passed and tied. A band of rawhide about 1 inch broad was passed around the horse's belly outside the parfleches and through these loops to bind the cases tight to the sides of the animal. Then the topmost cord loops of the two parfleches were tied together to prevent the cases from slipping. [177] The other method was one that Weasel Tail said was adopted from the Crow, although he could not give the time of its adoption. In this method two sets of holes were burned in one long side of the parfleche, longer rawhide cords were passed through them and over the horn of the saddle (fig. 20, c, c').[63]

ANTIQUITY OF THE PARFLECHE

175 415 It appears probable that the parfleche, so admirably adapted to horse transport, originated after the Plains Indians acquired horses. Weasel Tail was sure the Blackfoot tribes did not make the parfleche in pre-horse times. His grandmother had told him that before the Blood Indians acquired horses they used a container termed "Gros Ventres bag." It was made of a soft-tanned buffaloskin in the shape of a shallow globe (when filled), closed at the top by a drawstring,

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[170] [63] The photograph in pl. 5, b, definitely shows the use of this second method by the Crow. Maggie No Fat told me this was the Oglala method, and Kiowa informants described its use by that tribe also, although they said a rawhide rope was commonly passed around the barrel of the horse also to confine the cases to the sides of the animal and prevent joggling. Granville Stuart's general statement on parfleche transportation by the Indians of Montana in 1865, mentions, "Two loops of small cord are fastened on each side near the ends, which are used to hang over the forks of the packsaddle, a rope is then passed around and lashed tight, which binds the parfleches firmly and enables the horse to carry them easily" (Stuart, 1865, p. 78). The Flathead, Coeur d'Alene, and Okanagon are reported to have used the method of parfleche suspension by loops over the saddle horns (Teit, 1930, pp. 112, 221, 352). In 1819, the Omaha transported their dried meat in "quadrangular packages, each of a suitable size to attach conveniently to one side of the packsaddle of a horse" (James, 1823, vol. 1, p. 212). This appears to be the earliest reference to the use of parfleches as luggage by any Plains Indian tribe.

415 174 Weasel Tail also argued the relative lateness of the parfleche among the Blackfoot on technological grounds. He claimed it would have been an arduous task to cut and trim large areas of tough rawhide with the stone knives used by the Indians prior to trade contacts with Europeans. It is probable that the metal knife stimulated the invention of the parfleche and/or encouraged its wide use. The maker of the early parfleche in the Musée de l'Homme undoubtedly was acquainted with both metal knives and horses.

175 415 [412] In Maximilian's time (1833) the Blackfoot were making and using "many kinds of painted parchment bags, some of them in semicircular form, with leather strings and fringes" (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, p. 104, and illus. p. 105). By that time the Blackfoot had been using metal knives for more than a half century.

THE DOUBLE-BAG

415 Wissler collected and briefly described a buffalohide container composed of two deep pockets connected by a broad hide band, known to the Blackfoot as a "double-bag." He found this type was "once in general use" by women as "a general carrying bag" (Wissler, 1910, p. 74). This specimen (No. 50/5381, Amer. Mus. Nat. History) is shown in plate 9, *b*. Each pouch is 14 inches deep and 9 inches wide at the bottom.

415 492 Elderly Blackfoot informants described this type of bag to me as a container used in transporting foods and domestic articles on a pack horse. Such a bag was often made from the bottom of an old buffalo cowskin lodge cover. It was placed over the top of a pack animal's load, one pocket suspended on each side of the horse. In the pockets were placed one large or two small buffalo calfskins filled with berries. The calfskins (complete except for the heads) were closed at the necks by skin cords (fig. 21). The bag also was a handy container for transporting miscellaneous articles such as lunches to be eaten en route, and tin plates, and iron frying pans which were in rather common use among the Blackfoot in the late years of their nomadic existence.[illegible]

415 [171] Like such other once common articles as the digging stick and the native-made wooden bowl this double-bag has become exceedingly rare. I have seen no specimen other than the one collected by Wissler. Since it was in general use among the Blackfoot and Hidatsa I should

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[171] [illegible] Wilson's aged Hidatsa informant described the use of this type of bag by that tribe in transporting shelled corn. The Hidatsa also termed this container "double-bag." It was about 15 inches wide at the bottoms of the pockets, tapering to the tops (Wilson, 1924, p. 273, fig. 96). In his next paragraph Wilson describes in detail the manufacture of the buffalo calfskin bag used by the Hidatsa for transporting corn. Although it is in every respect like the Blackfoot berry bag, Wilson makes no mention of Hidatsa carrying of this bag in the pockets of the double-bag.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

suspect that it had a wider distribution in the northern Plains. I described the double-bag to Kiowa informants. They were entirely unfamiliar with it. 415 171

In view of the limited data available on the double-bag it is impossible to determine either its origin or antiquity. It may have been an Indian invention, or it may have been adapted from saddlebags employed by trappers and traders in the Indian Country. 415

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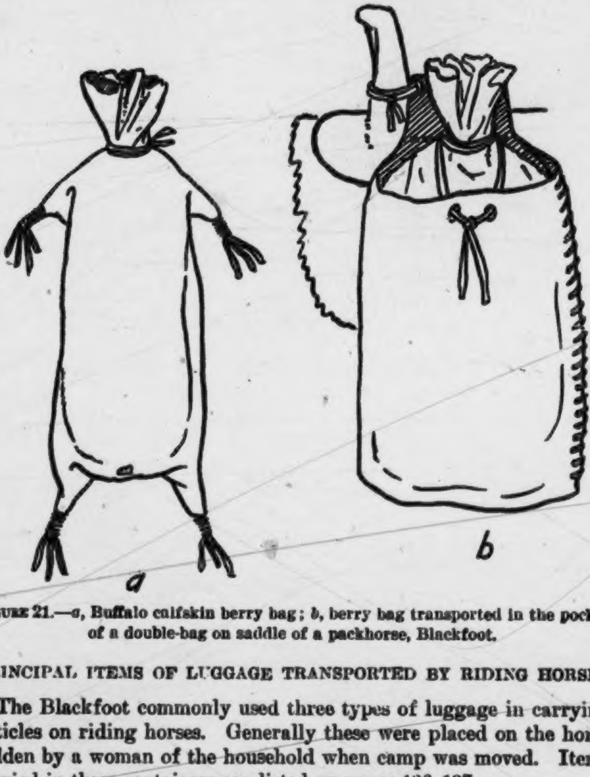

FIGURE 21.—a, Buffalo calfskin berry bag; b, berry bag transported in the pocket of a double-bag on saddle of a packhorse, Blackfoot.

PRINCIPAL ITEMS OF LUGGAGE TRANSPORTED BY RIDING HORSES 415

The Blackfoot commonly used three types of luggage in carrying articles on riding horses. Generally these were placed on the horse ridden by a woman of the household when camp was moved. Items carried in these containers are listed on pages 136–137. 492

THE DOUBLE SADDLEBAG

The double saddlebag (illustrated in Wissler, 1910, p. 95, and Ewers, 1945 b, p. 57) was made from a rectangular piece of soft 415 281

415 dressed skin about 60 inches long by 24 inches wide. This piece was
281 doubled on the long dimension and the edges sewn together. A longitudinal slit, cut in the center of its length, served as the opening of the bag. Long, cut fringes (15 inches or more in length) were sewn to the ends of the bag. According to the Blackfoot ideal these fringes should be long enough to fall below the horse's belly when the bag is
415 in place across the horse's back. In earlier times, probably before
531 1870, these bags were decorated with panels of painted or quilled de-

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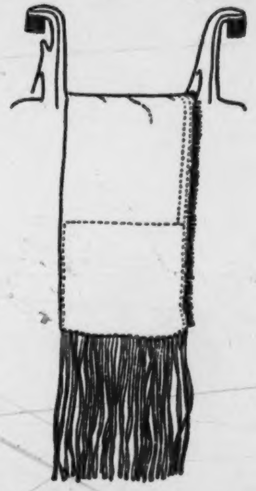

FIGURE 22.—Double saddlebag thrown over a woman's saddle for transportation, Blackfoot.

415 signs in rectangular areas the width of the pendent sides. Speci-
531 mens of more recent manufacture have these panels in beadwork over a background of red or black flannel.

415 Double saddlebags were transported in either of two ways. Most
492 commonly they seem to have been thrown over the center of the woman's saddle, hanging an equal distance at each side (fig. 22). The rider threw a buffalo robe over the bag then mounted on top of it. Thus the distance between the pommel and cantle of the woman's saddle determined the proper width of the saddlebag (about 12 inches). Less commonly the saddlebag was placed over the cantle of the saddle through the slit opening at the center of the bag. A little over half its width then rested on the horse's back behind the

saddle. The Blackfoot considered the double saddlebag a woman's piece of luggage. Men did not carry these bags on their horses.[64] 415 492 [562]

RECTANGULAR RAWHIDE SADDLEBAGS

Single saddlebags of rawhide were commonly transported on women's horses. The rectangular bag was made from a single piece of rawhide, folded at the bottom and laced together along the sides. It was closed by a flap at the top. The side exposed to view (when the case was hung over a saddle horn, by a skin cord passed through two holes burned in the back a short distance below the top flap) generally was painted in geometric design. Some of these cases had long, cut-skin fringes pendent from the side seams. The construction and decoration of this type of bag is described and illustrated by Wissler (1910, pp. 76–78) and Ewers (1945 b, p. 18).[65] (See fig. 23, *b*.) [532]

CYLINDRICAL RAWHIDE SADDLEBAGS

The cylindrical container is made of three pieces of rawhide. The largest piece was rolled into a tube and the overlapping long edges laced together. The other two pieces were rawhide disks which served as covers for the tube, one tied over each end of the tube by buckskin cords. Many cylindrical cases of this type have long, cut-skin fringes pendent from the long side seam. (See illus. in Wissler, 1910, pp. 78–79, and Ewers, 1945 b, p. 18). This tubular case was suspended from the saddle horn in traveling. Two holes were burned in the tube at a point opposite the seam, and a skin cord was passed through them and over the saddle horn. Painted, geometric designs were used in the decoration of this case. As this type of case was used primarily for carrying ceremonial objects it was less common than the rectangular form[66] (fig. 23, *a*). [532]

If the rawhide parfleche was a post-metal-knife development among the Plains tribes, as has been suggested (p. 116), it is probable that

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[64] This type of container is well represented in Museum collections from the northern Plains. Some specimens from the Teton Dakota are exquisitely beaded. Teit (1930, pp. 111, 354) recorded its use by the Couer d'Alene and Flathead. The double saddlebags of the Apache are distinguished by the use of cut-leather decoration. However, Kiowa informants said that tribe did not make this type of bag in their youth, although they obtained some of them in trade from other tribes. The fur trader, Charles Larpenteur, implied that the form of this saddlebag was copied from the Whites, although it was in common use among the Upper Missouri tribes in his time (i. e. ante-1850) (Larpenteur, 1898, p. 67). [171]

[65] Wissler (1910, pp. 77–78) has recorded the occurrence of this type of bag among the Sarsi, Gros Ventres, Kutenai, Yakima, Nez Percé, Arapaho, Dakota, and Thompson. Teit has described and illustrated them from the Flathead and Coeur d'Alene (Teit, 1930, pp. 111, 354). [171]

[66] Similar cases were employed by other Plains and Plateau tribes. Wissler (1910, p. 79) reports them from such widely separated tribes as the Nez Percé, Ute, Assiniboin, and Comanche. Kiowa informants told me members of that tribe formerly used the cylindrical rawhide case for storing and transporting feather bonnets exclusively. [171]

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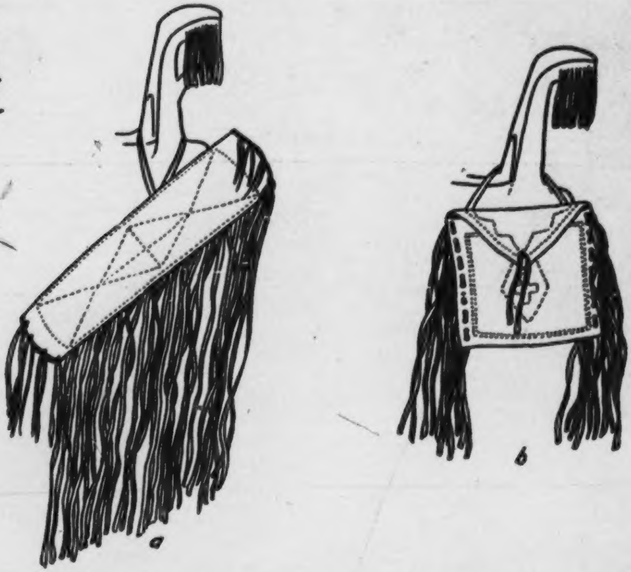

FIGURE 23.—Rawhide cases transported on a woman's horse. *a*, Cylindrical case with rawhide strap hanger; *b*, fringed, rectangular case with rawhide strap hanger.

415 these rawhide saddlebags were also. It is likely, therefore, that their
492 form, and especially their decoration were adapted to the conditions
of horse transportation. Certainly the long cut fringes, which present such a handsome picture blowing in the wind or trailing by the side of the riding horse would have been an impractical nuisance if placed
[556] on a dog or carried on the low-slung dog travois. Even in the late
years of their nomadic existence it was the wealthly families among the Blackfoot who owned the most elaborately decorated luggage. The saddlebags and rawhide cases carried on the riding horses of favorite wives were thought to dress up the horse and make the women look well on horseback.

household engaged in the task. Each family was responsible for its 484 own belongings. Every article had its assigned place and means of transportation. [593]

PACKING THE LODGE [595]

The lodge was the bulkiest, heaviest, and most complex possession transported by the Blackfoot in moving camp. A century ago Denig 492 (1930, p. 578) wrote that among the Upper Missouri tribes the size of the lodge was determined "by the number of persons to be accommodated or their means of transporting it." 342 Two decades later Bradley (1923, p. 258) stated that Blackfoot lodge size varied according 342 to the size "desired or the wealth of the occupants." Informants 556 claimed the latter factor was of primary importance, for the larger the lodge the greater were the number of skins required for construction of its cover and the number, length, and basal thickness of the lodge poles necessary for its foundation. Consequently the larger the lodge, 492 the greater the number of horses required to transport it.

Before the skin cover was replaced by the canvas one during the period 1870–85, Blackfoot lodges were sized according to the number 342 of buffalo cowskins employed in the construction of the cover. The smallest lodge had 6 skins, the largest about 40 skins. Alexander Culbertson (in 1848) saw a lodge of 40 skins owned by the Blood chief, Seen-from-Afar, a wealthy owner of 100 horses and husband of 10 wives (Bradley, 1900, p. 258). None of my informants claimed to have seen a lodge larger than 30 skins. Weasel Tail said the average Blackfoot lodge numbered 12 to 14 skins, figures also cited by Wissler (1910, p. 100). A lodge of that size was 14 to 16 feet in diameter at the base and provided sleeping accommodations for a family of 8, with their baggage.

Informants said that skin lodges had less lodgepoles in proportion to their size than the more recent canvas lodges. Weasel Tail said 19 poles were used for support of a 14-skin lodge (4 main poles, 5 secondary ones on each side, 2 near the door, 1 at the center of the back, and 2 ear-support poles). Modern Blackfoot who set up canvas-covered lodges in their Sun Dance encampments take pride in the length of their lodgepoles. In many lodges the poles extend 4 or more feet above the crossing. They criticize shorter poles, saying they look "like a crop-eared horse." However, in buffalo days only the wealthy could afford the extravagance of poles much longer than were needed to support their covers.[23]

Wealthy families among the Blackfoot made new lodges every summer, 342 before the Sun Dance encampment. Cowskins collected during 556

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[23] Palliser (1863, p. 138) observed that Blackfoot lodges generally were larger and better [237] furnished than those of the Cree, a tribe poor in horses. On the other hand, the horse-wealthy Crow tribe was renowned for having the finest lodges among the Upper Missouri [171] tribes in buffalo days (Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, pp. 43–44; Lowie, 1922 a, pp. 222–223).

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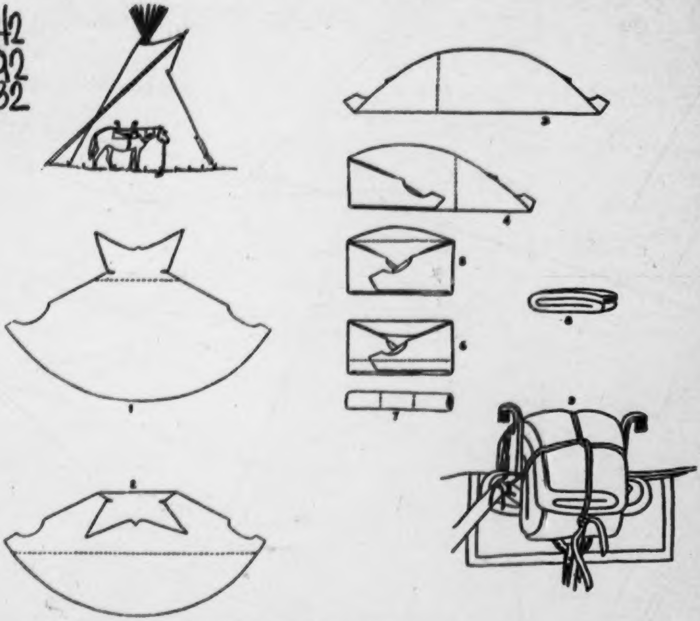

FIGURE 25.—A common method of folding a lodge cover for transportation by pack-horse, Blackfoot.

342 556 [23] the summer months, when buffalo hair was short, were easier to dress than those obtained during cooler weather. Near Fort McKenzie, August 9, 1833, Maximilian saw a Piegan camp of "old dirty brown leather tents" (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, p. 123). Apparently the covers had not been renewed at that date. Middle-class families generally renewed their lodge covers every other year, while poor families often were content to rely upon the kindness of wealthy men to give them old lodge covers after they had made new ones. The rich family's large cover was cut down to meet the needs of the poor one by trimming several feet off the base of it to make a much smaller cone.

342 492 The lodge cover was folded neatly and carefully to pack it for transport. One of several methods of folding employed by the Piegan is illustrated in figure 25. Some women preferred to begin by rolling the sides of the lodge toward the center, then folded over the ear flaps, folding up a portion of the bottom and providing a somewhat larger pack. Others first made a fold along the vertical axis at the center

and continued to fold the skin on this axis until the package was the width of the saddle, then folded or rolled up the top and bottom ends. Figure 19 shows the lodge cover in place on the pack or woman's saddle. The tie rope encircling the horse's belly prevented shifting of the load.[73] 342 492

The cover of a 12- to 14-hide lodge weighed from about 90 to 105 pounds. It required the services of two women to lift it onto the horse or travois. Generally the Blackfoot transported the cover on the back of a packhorse. In winter they preferred to place the cover on the travois, especially if there was snow on the ground.[74] [483]

The lodgepoles, after being taken down, were divided into equal bundles and tied to the sides of packhorses, through holes burned near the upper ends of the poles, by the hitch described on page 107 and illustrated in figure 19.[A] The average-size lodge had 19 poles, each 18 feet to 22 feet long, weighing approximately 20 pounds each. The dragging ends of the poles provided considerable friction in traveling over rough country, limiting the number of poles each horse could transport to 5 or 6 each side, or a total of 10 or 12. Consequently it required two horses to transport the poles of the average lodge.[75] 492

Larger lodges, requiring a greater number of longer and heavier poles, needed more than two horses to move them. Schultz (1919 a, p. 50) claimed one horse could transport only 2 of the 36-foot lodgepoles required for the 28-skin lodge of the Piegan chief Lone Walker. Since that lodge was said to have used 30 poles, 15 horses would have been needed merely to transport them, according to Schultz' calculations. This figure seems excessive. However, it is obvious that the wealthy owner of one or even two large lodges needed more horses to move his lodgepoles than did the average Blackfoot. Rich men also employed mules for pole transport because they were stronger than Indian ponies. (See Appendix.)[B] In many families certain horses were selected and reserved for the sole service of hauling the lodge-

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[73] The method of folding the cover employed by Wilson's Hidatsa informant and illustrated by him (Wilson, 1924, figs. 106, 107) was not described by my Blackfoot informants. There is no reason to believe that all Hidatsa women folded their lodges in that manner. My Blackfoot data indicate that the method of folding followed individual rather than tribal preference. [171]

[74] My Oglala and Kiowa informants also stated that those tribes preferred to transport lodge covers on pack horses. Wilson (1924, p. 193, fig. 35) indicated that was also Hidatsa practice, and Grinnell (1889, p. 279) stated that it was the Pawnee custom. The Omaha, in 1819, were reported to have carried their conic lodge covers of skin "neatly folded up, and suspended to the pack-saddle" (James, 1823, vol. 1, p. 206). Denig (1953, p. 36) noted Crow practice of transporting the lodge cover on horseback in the mid-19th century. [171]

[75] On page 112 I have cited references to show that other Plains Indians transported their lodgepoles in the same manner as did the Blackfoot. Grinnell (1923, vol. 1, p. 226) and Wilson (1924, pp. 193, 272) described Cheyenne and Hidatsa use of two horses to transport the poles of one lodge, although in the latter case some of the poles were attached to the horse carrying the cover. [171]

A [See category 492, p. 107--Analyst]

B [See category 492, pp. 341-342--Analyst]

492 poles. During camp movement pole-dragging horses generally were led by ropes held by women riding travois horses ahead of them.

The poor in horses were forced to adopt ingenious expedients for transporting the short poles for their small lodges, unless they could borrow a horse or horses to help them move camp. Sometimes they attached poles to the sides of travois beds. Sometimes they employed dogs to drag their poles, each dog dragging two to four poles.[illegible]

[342] Necessary accessories of each lodge were the wooden pegs driven into the ground around the lower edge of the cover to anchor it, and wooden pins used to fasten the cover together at the front. The Blackfoot generally carried these accessories in two rawhide bags (either scraped clean or with the hair left on) tied together over the saddle, one each side of a pole-dragging horse or the cover-carrying animal. Draught screens or lodge linings of skins were folded and packed on top of the lodge cover on the packhorse or placed on travois.

The estimated load of the average Blackfoot lodge accessories may be itemized:

	Pounds
Cover (12 or 14 skins)	90-105
Poles (19 at 20 lbs. each)	380
Lining (8 skins at ca. 7½ lbs.)	60
Pegs and pins	30-40
Total	560-585

It required three horses to transport the lodge and its accessories when camp was moved. If a family possessed a painted lodge, its accompanying sacred bundle generally was carried in a rectangular fringed rawhide case over the rear horn of the wife's (or favorite wife's) saddle. Some families transported these bundles on the travois.

PACKING HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE

Buffalo robes used for bedding and decorated willow backrests were carried on the travois. Sometimes, especially during the ritual moves prior to the establishment of the Sun Dance camp, women placed backrests on the travois so that one end would hang down at the back of

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[171] [illegible] Boller (ca. 1860) observed a camp of Canoe Assiniboin: "Owing to the scarcity of horses among this band . . . and the necessity of using dogs as their beasts of burden, most of the lodges consisted of from six to ten skins only" (Boller, 1868, pp. 134–135). However, Pierre Pichette claimed that the relatively wealthy Flathead employed rather small skin lodges on their prolonged winter buffalo hunts on the Plains due to the difficulty of hauling heavy loads over the Rockies. Many Flathead hunting lodges, he claimed, were not over 10 skins. Tribes of wealth nearly equal to that of the Blackfoot seem to have used lodges of about the same size. In 1833 Maximilian (1906, vol. 22, p. 327) found that Teton Dakota tipis were "generally composed of 14 skins." However, Denig (1930, p. 578) said that prominent Teton leaders owned lodges of as many as 36 skins in the second quarter of the 19th century. Teton lodge covers of that large size were taken apart in the center of the back. Half of the cover was transported by each of two horses.

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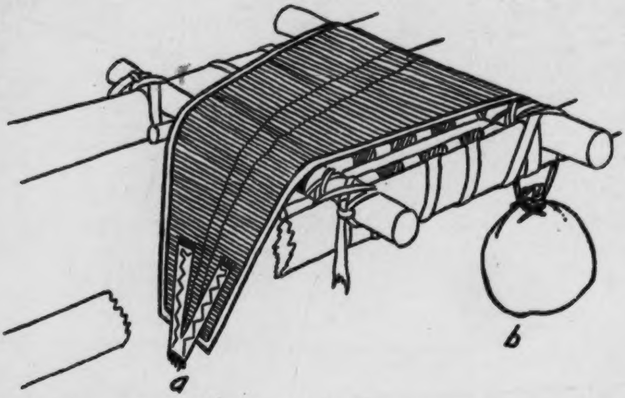

FIGURE 26.—*a*, Placement of a willow backrest on the bottom of a travois load to enhance the appearance of the travois from the rear; *b*, method of transporting water in a paunch container.

the load making it "look pretty" (fig. 26, *a*).[77] All of the items placed on a travois sometimes were wrapped in an old lodge cover and tied securely with rawhide rope 2 to 3 fingers wide, to protect them from dust, rain, or snow. If a family owned a great many buffalo robes they sometimes transported them on a makeshift platform of two crosspieces tied to the bundles of lodgepoles trailed by a pole-dragging horse. 492

PACKING FOOD

Dry meat, tallow, and pemmican in quantity were transported in parfleches, either in pairs suspended from each side of a pack horse (fig. 20) or on the travois platform. Small quantities of meat or pemmican to be eaten for lunch en route were carried in rectangular rawhide bags hung from the horn of a woman's saddle.[78] 492 415

Chokecherries, serviceberries, gooseberries, and bullberries collected in the fall and dried for winter use were transported in buffalo calfskin bags in the pockets of "double-bags" on pack horses. (See p. 116

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[77] Grinnell (1923, vol. 1, p. 248), who considered willow backrests luxury items unknown to the Indians before the acquisition of horses, said the Cheyenne carried them rolled in compact bundles on horseback. A Kiowa informant said that tribe generally carried bedding on top of a pack horse's load. [171]

[78] The Kiowa also employed the parfleche primarily as a meat-carrying case. The Cheyenne (Grinnell, 1923, vol. 1, p. 244) used them primarily for meat, berries, and roots. James (1823, vol. 1, p. 212) wrote of the Omaha, "The meat, in its dried state is closely condensed together in quadrangular packages, each of a suitable size, to attach conveniently to one side of the pack saddle of a horse," suggesting that the parfleche was used by that tribe for transporting meat in 1819. [171]

492 415 and fig. 21.) Tobacco (usually a mixture of dried bearberry leaves and commercial tobacco) was also transported in that way.

[276] [252] The white underscrapings of buffalo rawhide, used like flour to mix with dried berries in making berry cakes, were carried in rectangular rawhide bags hung over the saddle horn or placed on the travois.

CLOTHING

Dress clothing and extra articles of ordinary wear not worn on the day's journey were carried either in the double saddlebag (see p. 117 and fig. 22) or in parfleches on the travois, with the exception of those articles included in medicine bundles.[79] Paints, combs, looking glasses, and other toilet articles were carried in small rectangular rawhide cases over front or rear horns of women's saddles.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

According to Blackfoot tradition, pottery cooking vessels were formerly carried on horseback, in specially constructed rawhide containers tied on the top of a packhorse's load (Ewers, 1945 a, p. 295). Metal trade kettles were placed in skin sacks, often made from parts of old lodge covers, and tied on the top of the packhorse's load.[80]

The Blackfoot transported tin plates, frying pans, and metal spoons and knives in "double-bags" thrown over the backs of pack animals in late buffalo days. Small tools and utensils, such as arrow-making equipment, pipe-making tools, pemmican mauls, and skin-dressing tools were transported in plain, rectangular rawhide cases, usually 492 on horse or dog travois. Even owners of a considerable number of horses sometimes carried these articles on dog travois. Carrying relatively light loads, the dogs could keep up with the horses in the moving camp.[81]

SOCIETY AND MEDICINE PARAPHERNALIA

[422] All society and sacred paraphernalia among the Blackfoot were individually owned and were transported by the family of the owner. A society leader, in whose lodge the ceremonies of the group were held, had that lodge moved in the same way as other lodges of the camp. Ceremonial rattles were carried in fringed, rectangular, rawhide cases

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[171] [79] Kiowa informants claimed their people always carried extra clothing in parfleches.

[171] [80] I have seen no Blackfoot kettle cases; however, there is a Crow specimen in the U. S. National Museum, which is illustrated in plate 9, a. Denig (1953, p. 36) reported that in the mid-19th century the Crow carried kettles, pots, pans, etc. in individual sacks with cords attached by which they were tied to a horse's pack. Frank Bosin said the Kiowa wrapped their kettles in soft buckskin, then tied them to packhorse loads when moving camp.

[171] [81] In 1846, Garrard (1927, p. [illegible]) saw Southern Cheyenne transporting stone hammers, skin-dressing tools, wooden bowls, and horn spoons in "square" rawhide bags slung on each side of pack mules.

over the saddle horn of a wife's saddle. Drums usually were wrapped in the bedding on the travois to prevent damage to them. 492

War bonnets and small medicine bundles were carried in cylindrical rawhide cases (p. 119 and fig. 23, *a*), over the rear horn of a woman's saddle by the wife of the owner.[82] [415] Larger bundles, such as the natoas and beaver bundles were carried on the travois, led by the principal wife of the owner. The medicine pipe bundle, according to tradition, was carried in its special, fringed rawhide case over the back of the medicine pipe man. However, in my informant's youth it was carried on a separate horse led by the pipe owner, or even on the travois, on top of bedding, led by the owner's wife.

WEAPONS

Women carried knives in rawhide sheaths at their belts while moving camp. These were their only defensive weapons. Men, unencumbered by any baggage, carried their fighting weapons and ammunition, ready to meet any unexpected attack.[83]

CHILDREN

The elaborately decorated cradle was a luxury item among the Blackfoot in buffalo days. 854 Women who were lucky enough to own them carried their infants in cradles hung from the front horns of their saddles. [492] Most women carried their babies on their backs, wrapped in part of an old lodge cover and inside the mother's buffalo robe. Toddlers often rode on the travois. 484 A family with several children might fold a large buffalo hide like a box, its sides held upright by parfleches, and place the children in the center. When tired of riding the children got off the travois and ran for a while. The willow sunshade also was employed on the travois to transport children and puppies. Boys and girls 5 years of age or older rode horseback alone, the less experienced riders tied in the saddle to prevent their falling. If a family owned few horses the children might ride double, or even triple on a single horse.[84]

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[82] Frank Bosin said the Kiowa used tubular rawhide cases for holding war bonnets only. They preferred rawhide cases of the rectangular type for other sacred objects. [171]

[83] Denig (1953, p. 86) said the Crow wife carried her husband's medicine bag and shield as well as his sword, if he owned one. Her husband carried his gun and accouterments. Grinnell (1923, vol. 1, p. 128) reported that Cheyenne men carried only their arms when camp was on the move. La Vérendrye (1927, p. 317) observed that when the horseless Assiniboin moved camp in 1738, the men carried "only their arms." [171]

[84] All of these methods of transporting children were used by other tribes. Their practice of tying young children in the saddle or on a packhorse's load has been cited (p. 67). [171] Miller in 1837, depicted a cradle hung to the saddle bow of a woman's horse. The watercolor is not tribally identified (Ross, 1951, pl. 9, and description on opposite page). Garrard (1927, p. 52) did not mention use of baby cradles by the Southern Cheyenne camp whose movement he witnessed in 1846. Rather he said mothers carried their infants on their backs, inside their robes. The travois (true or makeshift) was used for transporting children by the Eastern Apache (Abert, 1846, p. 10), Hidatsa-Mandan (Boller, 1868, p. 177), Iowa (Skinner, 1926, p. 290), Teton (Prince Paul *in* Butscher, 1942, p. 209), Yankton (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 21, pp. 309–310), Southern Arapaho (Michelson, 1933, p. 597), and Southern Cheyenne (Garrard, 1927, p. 52).

492 493 888 The travois also served the Blackfoot as a vehicle for transporting the aged, too feeble to ride horseback, as well as the sick and wounded.[88]

WEIGHTS AND LOADS

492 In 1908, H. W. Daly, chief packer, Office of the Quartermaster-General, recommended a load of 250 pounds for an Army pack mule weighing not less than 850 pounds, traveling 20 to 25 miles a day under ordinary conditions or 10 to 15 miles a day over rough and mountainous country (Daly, 1908, pp. 134, 136). I estimate that a fair load for an Indian pony, weighing approximately 700 pounds, would have been about 200 pounds under similar conditions.

[171] Boller (1868, p. 30), an experienced trader, said the Teton Dakota carried "from 250 to 300 pounds" on the travois. Stanley (1855, p. 449) observed that the Piegan transported "often three hundred pounds" on their travois. The limit for the travois load dragged by the small Indian pony must have been about 300 pounds. I estimate that the lodgepole-dragging horse could pull a load of poles weighing a little more than that of the packhorse but less than that of the travois load. The awkwardness of the load and the friction of the many dragging poles combined to restrict the transport capacity of the pole-dragging animal.

HORSE NEEDS FOR THE AVERAGE FAMILY

231 We are now in a position to estimate the number of horses required by an average Blackfoot family in the mid-19th century. Our hypothetical average family would number 2 grown males, 3 grown females, and 3 children.[89]

After discussing the horse needs for a family of this size with a half dozen elderly informants (separately), I concluded that a family "should have had" 12 horses, as follows: 1 horse to carry the lodge cover and its accessories; 2 horses to drag the lodgepoles; 2 horses for packing meat, miscellaneous foods, and equipment; 3 horses to carry the women and infants (at least 2 of which would pull travois); 2 common riding horses for the men; and 2 trained buffalo runners for the men. None of these horses would then have to pull or carry heavier loads than those indicated above as fair loads for Indian ponies. However, this estimate makes no allowance for additional horses to

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[171] [88] Probably this was widespread Plains Indian practice. Prince Paul (in Butscher, 1942, p. 209) noted Teton Dakota use of the travois to transport "ancient squaws" a century ago. Comparative data on travois use in carrying sick and wounded have been cited (p. 108).

[127] [162] [89] I have derived these figures from Indian Agent Vaughan's estimate of an average of 8 persons to the lodge among the three Blackfoot tribes in 1860. His figures also estimated that women somewhat outnumbered men, and children comprised roughly 40 percent of the Blackfoot population at that time (U. S. Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1860, p. 306).

replace any of the active animals in case of their death, injury, or 231
theft. A well-balanced herd would require 4 or 5 additional animals, which could be pressed into service to replace future losses, in order to give the family a sense of security.[27]

When we compare the number of horses informants thought the average family of 8 "should have" with the best estimates of the number of horses per lodge among the Blackfoot tribes in the mid-19th century (see p. 21), we find a noticeable discrepancy. In the year 1860 the person-horse ratio was nearer 1:1 rather than the 1:1½ an average family "should have had." Consequently the average 492
family had to cut corners to get by with a smaller number of horses. This was done in a number of ways: (1) by overloading a smaller number of pack animals (2) by employing a smaller number of common riding horses (3) by making use of a single buffalo horse, and/or (4) utilizing dog travois to carry meat and light equipment. By employing a smaller number of transport and buffalo hunting horses the family restricted its possibilities of obtaining meat and of transporting food surpluses, something of special importance in the fall of the year in the period preceding the establishment of winter camp.

Informants indicated that a young married couple with a baby or 231
no children could make out with as few as 5 horses: 1 common saddle horse and 1 buffalo runner for the husband, 2 pack horses to transport the cover, poles, and accessories of a small lodge, and 1 travois horse for the wife.[28]

However, a large family, comprising more than 5 adults and growing children "should have had" 15 to 20 or more horses.

My information indicates that in the average family all horses ex- 492
cept buffalo runners were pressed into service when camp was moved. In the well-regulated household animals used for transporting the lodge and pack and travois horses were regularly assigned to those duties each time camp was moved.

MOVING CAMP ON THE PART OF A WEALTHY FAMILY

A wealthy family of average size owning 30, 50, or more horses 484
encountered little difficulty in moving camp. The favorite wife di- 492
rected packing of the household equipment. She generally rode a saddle horse carrying her husband's toilet articles, feather bonnet and/or other small medicine bundles over the horns of her fancy

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[27] Mishkin (1940, p. 20) estimated that a "well balanced herd of ideal size" for a Kiowa family of five adults would comprise 10 pack animals, 5 riding animals, and 2 to 5 buffalo horses. Differences between his figures and my Blackfoot estimates are apparent in transport, riding, and buffalo horse categories. Perhaps the relatively wealthy Kiowa thought 5 buffalo horses were desirable. It is doubtful if they were necessary. [171]

[28] Elkin (1940, p. 208) regarded "four or five horses" as "the indispensible minimum for a man and wife; two for riding and the rest for packing," among the Northern Arapaho. [171]

484 saddle. His dress clothing was packed in her double saddlebag. Her
horse was richly decorated with fine crupper and martingale. If the
● 492 family possessed a large or important medicine bundle she transported
it on a travois, leading the travois horse behind her. Each of the other wives had a travois which she rode or led behind her from a saddle horse. Packhorses were available to transport large quantities of meat and plant foods when moving to winter camp. Horses assigned to lodge transport duties needed not to be heavily loaded. Additional horses were available to relieve sick or injured horses of their duties.

The loose horses not needed for transport duty were driven by
484 boys in the rear of the family group. Informants said the loose horses
233 of a wealthy man sometimes were "spread out as wide as the town of
Browning" when camp was on the move. If the owner had no boys of his own or had not adopted a young man to help him with his horses he would give boys of other families colts in return for their assistance in driving his horses when camp moved.[89]

MOVING CAMP ON THE PART OF A POOR FAMILY

Weasel Tail cited the case of a poor Blood Indian who owned but
484 one horse. His lodge cover was the upper part of a rich man's dis-
492 carded cover. His lodge was so small there was no room to hang a
tripod and kettle inside it. When camp moved he and his wife walked. She led the horse with a travois attached to it, on which were packed the lodge cover and scanty family baggage. Their children rode on the back of the travois horse on top of other baggage. The small, short lodgepoles of the dwelling were dragged by dogs. The family owned no willow backrests, no dress clothing, and transported very little food. Informants indicated that this case was not unique.

However, most poor families tried to borrow horses from wealthy
426 relatives, chiefs, or men ambitious of becoming leaders and interested
in adding to the number of their supporters in return for favors
426 granted. If the prospective borrower was known to be a lazy fellow,
who remained in camp and would not join horse raids or attempt to
735 better his condition through his own efforts, his request might be
refused with some such comment as "Let him walk." The rebuke was intended to shock him out of his laziness. Those who were poor through misfortune rather than inertia (because their horses had been stolen by the enemy or lost through diseases or winter storms, or because of the death or injury of a hunter) generally could get a loan

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[171] [89] The Nez Percé (Haines, 1939, p. 288) and Southern Cheyenne (Garrard, 1927, p. 53) also drove the loose horses of each family in a separate band when camp moved.

of horses for moving camp. Wealthy horse owners among the Piegan, 426
such as Many Horses and Stingy, were well remembered for their
generosity in loaning horses to the poor. According to a family tradi- [735]
tion, Buffalo Back Fat, head chief of the Blood Indians, sometimes
told those who had borrowed horses from him to keep them when they
sought to return the animals.[90]

In the period of the serious mange epidemic among the Piegan (ca.
1881) the loss of horses was so great that camp movements were seri- 484
ously handicapped. Short Face said that the chief and other wealthy 492
men of his band then went ahead with some other families of the
camp and, about noon, sent their horses back to transport the possessions of those left behind. In those difficult days dogs were extensively used for transport duties and many people walked.[91]

COMPARATIVE DATA ON THE POOR IN HORSES

The early literature contains several striking descriptions of the 171
methods employed by the poor in horses among other tribes in moving
camp.

Lewis and Clark wrote of the Lemhi Shoshoni in 1805:

> . . . were he [the husband] so poor as to possess only two horses, he would ride the best of them, and leave the other for his wives and children and their baggage; if he had too many wives or too much baggage for the horse, the wives would have no other alternative but to follow him on foot; they are not, however, often reduced to these extremities, for the stock of horses is very ample. [Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 558.]

Ferris described in greater detail the lot of the poor among the Rocky Mountain Indians in general in 1832:

> Those who are not so fortunate or wealthy as to possess the number of horses requisite, are obliged to walk or put enormous loads upon such as they may own. In one instance, in the year 1832, I saw a mare loaded with, first—two large bales containing meat, skins, etc., on opposite sides of the animal, attached securely to the saddle by strong cords; secondly—a lodge, with the necessary poles dragging on each side of her; thirdly—a kettle, axe, and sundry other articles of domestic economy; fourthly—a colt too young to bear the fatigue of travelling was lashed to one side; and finally—this enormous load was surmounted by a woman with three young children; making in all sufficient to have fully loaded three horses, in the ordinary manner. Though this rather exceeds anything of the kind I ever saw, yet large loads, in like manner surmounted by women and children, colts and puppies, are often observed on their moving jaunts. [Ferris, 1940, p. 290.]

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[90] Frank Bosin said the loaning of horses to the poor for use in moving camp was a [171]
common practice among wealthy Kiowa.

[91] In 1819 the Long expedition reported a similar procedure among the Omaha, a tribe
relatively poor in horses. "They are sometimes so successful . . . in the accumulation [171]
of meat, as to be obliged to make double trips, returning after midday for half the whole
quantity, which was left in the morning" (James, 1823, vol. 1, p. 212).

Informants added details to this description by stating that the lodge covers were rolled up at the sides, baggage and children placed in 505 them, and the women swam along behind pushing the covers while men towed them from in front by ropes. The lodgepoles were placed under the travois and bound to them to form crude rafts on which backrests and other luggage were transported over the water. Horses towed these improvised rafts. Crossing a wide river, such as the Missouri, provided the Indians a noisy time. Horses whinnied, dogs yelped, people shouted. When the camp safely reached the other side its members generally stopped for the day to dry their clothes and gear and to feast. In the absence of any contemporary drawing 171 of Blackfoot methods of stream crossing I have reproduced Sohon's original sketch of Flathead Indians traversing a stream as plate 10. A 505 The Flathead method was essentially the same as that employed by the Blackfoot.[illegible]

The problem of management of horses in water must have confronted the Indians soon after they acquired their first horses. 505 Hendry (1907, p. 351) observed that the "Archithinue" of the Saskatchewan 492 Plains were adept in the employment of horses in "swimming broad and deep rivers," in 1755. Yet Weasel Tail stated that in his youth a man was careful to choose a horse known to behave well in water, if he attempted to ride across a stream. Otherwise he preferred to swim or to let his horse tow him across by holding on to the animal's tail. Kane (1925, p. 76) observed this method of river crossing employed by Blackfoot in 1848.[illegible]

STOPS EN ROUTE BECAUSE OF RAIN

If the moving camp was overtaken by a hard, sudden rainstorm en route, they sought shelter in brush if any was near, built makeshift 484 shelters of a few bent willow branches in the generalized sweat-lodge pattern, covered them with buffalo robes, and remained inside until the storm moved on. If, however, the rain continued through the day they would be forced to set up their lodges at or near that place.

ARRIVAL AT NIGHT CAMP

Usually the site for the night's camp was determined in advance by the band chief on the basis of its known distance from the previous

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[illegible] Father Mengarini (1938, pp. 16-17), and Major Owen (1927, vol. 1, p. 37) described Flathead methods of crossing streams as employed in the mid-19th century. Mandelbaum (1940, p. 196) found that Plains Cree horses were trained to pull "rafts" tied to their tails, but he did not describe the rafts. Lowie (1922 a, p. 219) said the Crow made rafts of parallel tipi poles, spread hides over them, and placed the cargo on top.

[illegible] In 1806 the younger Henry (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 1, p. 331) observed [171] Mandan young men swimming horses across the Missouri. "They fastened a line to the horse's mouth, the end of which one of them took in his teeth, and swam ahead, whilst others swam on each side and in the rear, driving the animal very expeditiously."

A [See category 171, p. 358-I--Analyst]

484 day's camp, and availability of wood, water, and wild grass. When
the chief reached this locality he selected a spot for his lodge or lodges.
His women folk began unpacking and setting up his lodge.[97] Other families pitched their lodges around his, being careful not to scatter too widely because of the danger of attack. Lodges in a band camp were not aligned in a circle, but were placed within a distance of about 10 to 12 feet of one another in an otherwise unplanned cluster.

The medicine pipe man placed his bundle on its tripod behind his lodge. The men smoked and conversed as the women unpacked, set up the lodges and prepared the evening meal. Boys who cared for the horses were given their instructions by family heads. If there were signs of the enemy a horse corral was built for their protection at night. Generally the day's march ended in the middle or late afternoon so that there was ample time before dark to erect the lodges and make preparations for the night.

MAKING CAMP WITHOUT WOOD OR WATER

Sometimes it was known in advance that night camp would have
[372] to be made without wood or water. If no wood was available dried
buffalo chips were substituted for firewood. Buck brush or dried grass
were employed to start the chips burning.

484 If a dry camp was anticipated water was carried along in buffalo
paunches, about the necks of which willow sticks were woven to keep
415 the vessels round. Each vessel was closed at the top by tie strings or
●[492] by a fitted rawhide cover. These vessels were transported tied to
the outer ends of travois platforms where the primary struts crossed
484 the shafts (fig. 26, *b*). Each family carried four or more paunches,
depending upon its size and the number of dogs and horses owned.[98]
[231] Horses and dogs were watered by pouring the liquid into basin-shaped
troughs of rawhide. In the spring of the year large ponds of water,
[415] formed from melting snows, appeared in depressions in the Blackfoot
133 country, affording a ready supply of water in localities normally dry
through the summer and fall months. Little difficulty was experienced
in obtaining water in spring.

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[171] [97] Larocque's (1910, p. 61) description of Crow movements states that the principal chief "pitches his tent the first, all the others encamp about him." Frank Bosin said this was also Kiowa practice.

[171] [98] Use of buffalo-paunch containers for carrying water on the march was common among the Plains Indians. In 1820, the Kiowa Apache were seen carrying water in buffalo paunches of 6 to 8 gallons capacity, closed at the tops by sticks passed through their margins. In camp the paunches were suspended from tripods of light poles (James, 1823, vol. 2, pp. 103, 108). The Hidatsa carried water for dogs in wood-skewered buffalo paunches, on dog travois (Wilson, 1924, p. 225, fig. 56). A Kiowa buffalo-paunch water vessel is on exhibition in the Southern Plains Indian Museum, Anadarko, Okla. Specimens from the Gros Ventres and Mandan are on exhibition in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City. A drawing by a Southern Cheyenne artist, showing a paunch vessel tied to a travois for transport in the manner employed by the Blackfoot is reproduced on plate 6, *b*. This drawing (U. S. N. M. No. 166,032) was collected by H. R. Voth in 1889.

- Tools, utensils, and crafts media—Continued
  - Fuel (dung). 237
  - Fly brushes (tail on stick). 412
  - Glue, used in arrow making (boiled phallus).
  - Skin softening agents (brains, fat, and liver). 415
  - Thread (sinew, occasionally rawhide).
  - Pipe-polishing medium (fat).
  - Paint-mixing medium (fat).
  - Paint brushes (hip bone or shoulder blade).
  - Quill flattener (horn).
  - Tool for dehairing rope, (skull).
- Riding and transport gear:
  - Frame-saddle covering (rawhide). 237
  - Pad-saddle covering (soft skin).
  - Pad-saddle stuffing (hair). 492
  - Saddle-rigging straps (rawhide).
  - Stirrup coverings (scrotum or rawhide).
  - Martingales, simple form (rawhide).
  - Cruppers, simple form (rawhide).
  - Parfleches (rawhide).
  - Rectangular saddlebags (rawhide). 237
  - Cylindrical saddlebags (rawhide). 415
  - Dougle-bags (rawhide).
  - "Gros Ventres bags" (soft skin).
  - Tobacco pouches (calfskin).
  - Berry bags (unborn calfskin).
  - Bridles (rawhide or hair).
  - Honda ring (horn). 237
  - Hackamores (rawhide). 492
  - Lariats (rawhide).
  - Picket ropes (rawhide).
  - Hobbles (rawhide).
  - Saddle blankets (skin or robe).
  - Saddle housings (robe).
  - Travois hitches (rawhide).
  - Pole hitches (rawhide).
  - Miscellaneous tie strings (rawhide).
  - Horse blankets (robe, or top of old lodge).
  - Horse-watering troughs (rawhide).
  - Horseshoes (rawhide).
- Recreational equipment:
  - Boys' sleds (rib runners, skin seat). 237
  - Girls' sleds (large pieces rawhide). [493]
  - Ball stuffing (hair). [524]
  - Hoop and pole game hoop netting (rawhide). [526]
- Ceremonial and religious paraphernalia:
  - Sun Dance altars (skull).
  - Bindings for Sun Dance lodge rafters (strips of hide with hair). 237
  - Rattles (hoofs and rawhide).
  - Horse masks (skin and horn). 796
  - Winding sheets for dead (skin or robe).
  - Beaver bundle headdress (hide with hair).
  - Matoki (Woman's Society) headdresses (hide with hair).

THE BUFFALO HORSE

Great care was taken by the Blackfoot in selecting and training 492 a buffalo hunting horse. This animal was the man's primary charger, ridden only in hunting, to war, and on dress occasions. Informants 224 named five qualities sought in a buffalo runner: (1) enduring speed (the ability to retain speed over a distance of several miles); (2) intelligence (the ability to respond instantly to commands or to act properly on its own initiative); (3) agility (ability to move quickly alongside a buffalo, to avoid contact with the larger animal, and to keep clear of its horns); (4) sure-footedness (ability to run swiftly over uneven ground without stumbling); and (5) courage (lack of fear of buffalo). Usually a man selected the horse he wished to train as a buffalo hunter on the basis of its demonstrated swiftness and alertness. A 4-year-old was preferred, but a man who owned few horses might select a horse a year younger. The horse's courage could be determined only through experience in chasing buffalo. Some horses never overcame their fear of those large, shaggy beasts, and could not be trained as hunters. It took patient practice and use of the whip to train a horse to run close beside a buffalo.[3] The courageous horse, through experience, learned to follow the buffalo, move in close and "do its work" with little urging from its owner, so that the latter could concentrate upon making his kill. A well-trained buffalo horse would turn as the rider shifted his weight to one side, or in response to pressure from the rider's knee. Most buffalo runners were males, although some mares made good hunting horses.

Many Blackfoot men regarded their buffalo horses as priceless possessions. 231 They would not trade them or give them away. In trade a [435] buffalo runner of known ability would bring several common riding

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233–234). It is most probable that this seasonal hunting-cultivating rhythm of the [171] horticultural tribes of the Plains antedated their acquisition of horses. Before 1700 Nicholas Perrot (Blair, 1912, vol. 1, p. 119) reported that the tribes of the northern Prairies set out on buffalo-hunting expeditions each autumn after they had harvested their crops, returned to their villages in March to plant "the grain," then embarked on a hunting trip. The De Gannes Memoir (Pease and Werner, 1934 b, p. 339–344) described the same seasonal rhythm among the horticultural Illinois in 1688.

The Mandan of the Upper Missouri were more sedentary, not because they did not observe the same seasonal rhythm, but because buffalo were numerous near their winter villages making prolonged hunting trips at that season unnecessary (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, p. 345).

[3] In writing of the Coronado expedition to the Plains in 1541, Castenada noted, "there [171] was not one of the horses that did not take fright when he saw them (buffalo) first" (Winship, 1896, p. 542). Yet M'Gillivray (1929, p. 29) wrote of the Indian-trained buffalo horse of the North Saskatchewan in 1794, "he delights in the pleasure of the chace, and is so animated at the sight of a Band of animals that he can scarcely be restrained from pursuing them." During Captain Clark's journey down the Yellowstone in the fall of 1805, the loose horses driven by Sergeant Pryor sighted a herd of buffalo, and "having been trained by the Indians to hunt, immediately set off in pursuit of them, and surrounded the herd with almost as much skill as their riders could have done" (Coues, 1893, vol. 3, p. 1148).

224 not to accompany the hunters to aid in butchering and packing meat back to camp were left in camp. Sometimes they were instructed to move camp while the hunt was in progress.

EQUIPMENT

224 492 In leaving camp for the hunt each hunter rode a common horse (to be later used for packing meat, if his horses were few) and led his buffalo horse in order to save its strength for the chase.[8] Women and boys followed with the pack animals.

Although some Blackfoot preferred to ride bareback in hunting buffalo, many used the pad saddle. Weasel Tail said he always rode a pad saddle when hunting buffalo because it added little weight to his mount while providing him with a firm seat with feet braced in the stirrups to permit a steadier aim. A few hunters rode "prairie chicken snare saddles."

224 291 Generally hunters wore leggings, a breechcloth and moccasins, and a shirt with short sleeves which would not get in their way or become bloodied in butchering. These were either skin or old cloth garments without any decoration. Old clothes were desirable for the bloody business of killing and especially of butchering.

224 411 Before the introduction of the breechloader among the Blackfoot in 1870, firearms were rarely employed in the buffalo chase. It was too difficult to reload a muzzle-loading musket on a fast-moving horse to make its use practical. Most men would have had to stop their horses each time they reloaded, thus losing ground on the running herd. Kurz (1937, p. 195) described the use of muzzle-loaders by white hunters attached to Fort Union in 1851, who were skilled in reloading on the run. However, the very great majority of Blackfoot Indian hunters preferred the bow and arrow for the buffalo chase. This bow was short, often not more than 3 feet in length, so as to be easily managed on horseback. It was of ash, chokecherry or sarvis berry. The quiver, slung at the rider's back, contained 20 to 30 iron-headed arrows. The stone-headed arrow went out of use among the Blackfoot long before the time of my informants. Some men preferred to use a short, metal-headed, ash-poled lance. However, the use of the lance in buffalo hunting was on the wane among the Blackfoot even before the introduction of breech-loading rifles. Lazy Boy, my eldest Piegan informant, could not recall ever having seen the lance carried by a buffalo hunter of his tribe. Even as early as 1833, Maximilian (1906, vol. 23, p. 119) remarked, "I saw few

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171 [8] This seems to have been a common Plains Indian practice, reported for the Cheyenne (Hamilton, 1905, p. 28), Plains Cree (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 191), Plains Ojibwa (Skinner, 1914, p. 494), and Hidatsa-Mandan (Boller, 1868, p. 77).

224 horses, generally by-passed the running bulls to get to the cows. Unless he was left-handed, the bowman approached the buffalo he had singled out for slaughter from the right side, brought his horse close alongside, fixed an arrow to his bow and aimed at the fatal spot, which Hornaday (1889, p. 471) described as "from 12 to 18 inches in circumference, and lies immediately back of the foreleg with its lowest point on a line with the elbow." The arrow was shot without sighting, generally with the bow held a little off vertical, the top tilted to the right. However, each hunter used the position easiest for him. Informants insisted that all Blackfoot hunters did not learn to shoot in the same way, nor did they all employ the same method of arrow release. As the arrow left the bow the trained buffalo horse swerved away from its quarry, running in close again to permit additional shots if required.

Informants were familiar with the common stories of men who had shot arrows completely through buffalo. Weasel Tail claimed he had twice done this in killing young cows. Nevertheless, they stated that it usually required three or more arrows to bring down a running cow. The quiver was carried on the back with the opening behind the hunter's left shoulder (if he was right-handed), so he could easily and quickly take another arrow from it with his right hand, fit it to the bow held in his left hand, and shoot rapidly.

On the run the hunter carried the long end of his bridle rope coiled and tucked under his belt (fig. 11), so that should he be thrown but not hurt or badly shaken up, he could grab the free end of this line as it paid out and retrieve his horse, possibly in time to mount and continue the chase (p. 76).

Blackfoot lancers usually approached buffalo from the left side.[33] They delivered their blows in powerful overhand chops.

The run usually continued until the herd outdistanced the pursuing hunters.

NUMBER OF BUFFALO KILLED IN A SINGLE CHASE

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492 Testimony of my Blackfoot informants supported the generalization of Tixier (1940, p. 191), written more than a century ago, that in the buffalo chase the "best beast belongs to the best horse, and for this reason they say on the prairie 'My horse has killed many buffalo.'" Boller (1868, p. 232) told of an expert Hidatsa hunter, The Last Stone, of whom it was said, "He could kill on any kind of horse," a high tribute to his ability as a marksman to bring down his game at a long distance. However, the very great majority of the Blackfoot, and of the Hidatsa as well, relied upon the speed and courage of their mounts to bring them close beside the buffalo before shooting.

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[33] Osage lancers also killed buffalo from the left side of that animal (Tixier, 1940, p. 192).

BUTCHERING AND PACKING

224 When the men had finished their killing their leader waved to the women to come out with the pack animals. Meanwhile the men located the buffalo they had killed by the marks on their arrows in the fallen beasts. A woman who was not lazy would help her husband in butchering. Together they could complete the task of butchering a buffalo in about an hour. Wissler (1910, p. 42) was told of Blackfoot men who could butcher 5 to 12 animals in a day. A common butcher knife was used, and a hind leg was cut off to employ as a hatchet in breaking the ribs.

Wissler (1910, p. 41–42) has properly distinguished two types of butchering, "heavy butchering," and "light butchering." In the former the animal was utilized to the fullest extent. In the latter only the best parts of the animal were taken. "Light butchering" was common when meat was relatively plentiful and/or killing was far from camp and few pack animals were available. In times of scarcity "heavy butchering" was the rule.

● 492 Informants claimed it required two pack animals to carry the meat of a buffalo cow that had been subjected to "heavy butchering." Mrs. Cree Medicine described the method of packing employed by members of her family. One pack animal carried only the four quarters of the animal. The tendons of the forequarters were tied together with a piece of rawhide and they were thrown over the pack saddle so that one quarter fell at each side of the pack animal. The hind quarters were slung in the same way. The hide was thrown over the back of a second pack horse, the two slabs of back fat were folded over this, and the ribs were tied with rawhide cord and added to the load. Then the two flanks were tied together and placed on the horse. A hole was punched in the boss ribs through which a cord was passed and tied to the pack. Next the hipbones were packed, and the neck was cut away from the head, split open from the bottom, and spread out over the top of the load. Finally the edges of the robe (at the bottom of the pack) were raised and tied together to hold the pack securely. The woman generally wrapped the entrails in a 224 separate bundle and carried it herself. A buffalo cow averaged 400 pounds of meat produce. Thus it would have been too great a burden 492 to consign this entire weight to a single Indian pony. However, informants said that when "light butchering" was resorted to a single packhorse could carry the load. Thus the number of pack animals available to the hunter often was the determining factor in the choice of method of butchering and the total amount of food that he could salvage from a single chase.[19]

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[171] [19] The literature contains a number of references to Indian horses belonging to other tribes packing the meat of an entire buffalo, and Alexander Henry wrote of a returning

The Blackfoot hunter returned to camp riding his buffalo horse while his wife took charge of the pack animals. There was a strong belief among the Blackfoot that the buffalo horse should never have meat packed on it. However, poor people sometimes had little choice. The Blackfoot never packed meat on a race horse.[27] 224 492

LOANING OF BUFFALO HORSES FOR HUNTING

Owners of few horses among the Blackfoot rarely possessed a good buffalo runner. They tried to borrow trained buffalo horses from wealthy relatives or band chiefs. The loan of buffalo horses not only improved the opportunities of the poor but enhanced the prestige of the loaner and proved his right to leadership. Some wealthy men owned as many as 10 or more trained buffalo horses, some of which they loaned the poor for hunting. Some men of wealth gave their wives buffalo horses, which they might loan to poor relatives. However, if a man found that his wife had loaned one of his buffalo runners without his knowledge, he might give her a sound beating. Horses were loaned for the duration of a chase. If the hunt was near camp they would be returned within the day. 426 231 [556]

Three Calf said his father loaned horses for buffalo hunting in this way:

> A man asked my father for the loan of a horse. Father told him, "Yes, get that pinto (pointing out a buffalo runner in his herd), and another horse to pack with if you need it." There was no agreement in advance for any payment to be made on the loan. If the borrower was appreciative he gave a lot of the best meat from the buffalo he killed to my father. If the man was selfish and offered my father no meat, the next time he wished to borrow horses, father told him, "No."
>
> If the buffalo runner met with an accident (suffered a broken leg or a rupture) while hunting on loan, and the borrower was known to be a reliable, earnest fellow, father told him, "That was nothing to be ashamed of. It was an accident. Young man, your body is worth more than the horse. Let's have no hard feelings." But if the borrower was an irresponsible fellow, father gave him a rough talking to, and made him replace the lost horse.

Informants agreed that there were no standardized repayments for the loan of buffalo horses. Payments depended upon a number of factors, including (1) whether meat was plentiful or scarce in the

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party of Mandan hunters seen by him in 1806 in which each horse was loaded with about half a buffalo plus the weight of a rider (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 1, p. 386). Either such references referred to instances of "light butchering" or the pack animals must have been greatly overloaded. In the Mandan case just cited the latter certainly was the case. [171]

[27] Other Plains Indian tribes seem to have shared the taboo against carrying meat on a buffalo horse. James (1823, vol. 1, p. 210) wrote that the Omaha (in 1819) "rarely subjected" buffalo runners "to the drudgery of carrying burdens." Tixier (1940, p. 196) observed among the Osage that "when a pack animal follows the hunter, the hunting horse returns to camp without any other burden but its rider." Turney-High (1937, p. 117) specifically mentioned the Flathead taboo against packing meat on a buffalo horse. [171]

113). Three types of buffalo drives were employed by the Blackfoot 224 within the historic period: (1) driving buffalo into corrals on the level Plains, (2) driving buffalo down steep slopes or over relatively low embankments into corrals, and (3) driving them over high cliffs so that the animals would be killed or maimed by their fall. No corrals were needed at the bases of these cliffs to prevent the animals' escape. Probably all three Blackfoot tribes employed the first method in prehistoric times. In the historic period it was used only by the North Blackfoot. The second and third methods were then employed by the Blood and Piegan. Blackfoot drives have been described by Henry (Henry and Thompson, 1897, pp. 576–577); Maximilian (1906, vol. 23, p. 108); Bradley (1923, p. 256); Grinnell (1892, pp. 228–232); Wissler (1910, pp. 34–38); and Barrett (1922, pp. 22–27). These writers considered the drive a winter method of buffalo hunting among the Blackfoot. As Barrett (1922, p. 23) stated, the drives were employed most frequently in the early winter period immediately following the establishment of winter camps (i. e., in November and December).

In historic times the Blackfoot employed mounted men to drive 224 buffalo toward the V-shaped approaches to the pounds (Bradley, 1923, p. 256; Wissler, 1910, p. 37; Ewers, 1949, p. 359). Wissler claimed that 178 Blackfoot use of horses and guns caused the drives to fall into disuse 492 (Wissler, 1910, p. 37). Inasmuch as firearms were little used by the Blackfoot in buffalo hunting, I suggest that the popularity of the chase on horseback was the primary cause of the abandonment of the traditional drives. The last Piegan drive occurred in the early 1850's, while the North Blackfoot used this technique as late as ca. 1872 (Ewers, 1949, pp. 358–360). However, it is probable that drives were uncommon among both those tribes for some years prior to their last recorded employment.

The relationship between poverty in horse ownership and continued 171 use of buffalo drives is borne out by the fact that the only tribes of the northern Plains to make extensive use of this hunting technique after about 1850 were the horse-poor Assiniboin and Plains Cree.[29]

The midwinter season, comprising the months of January and February, 224 provided the most severe test of Blackfoot ability to keep their food supply abreast of their needs. Indian ingenuity devised a number of methods of hunting under cold weather conditions which, in combination, were usually adequate to supply necessary subsistence.

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[29] Denig wrote in 1854, "We know of no nation now except the Assiniboin and Cree who practice it [the drive], because all the rest are well supplied with horses that can catch the buffalo, therefore, they are not compelled to resort to these means to entrap them" (Denig, 1930, p. 532). The Plains Cree even employed the drive in the summer months in the mid-19th century (Kane, 1925, pp. 80–82; Hind, 1860, vol. 1, pp. 355–359). The Sarsi, poor allies of the Blackfoot, are also reported to have made summer drives (Jenness, 1938, p. 17).

WINTER HUNTING ON HORSEBACK

224 492 In open winters, with little snow or heavy ice, it was possible to send out hunting parties on horseback. When buffalo were not found near the band camp, a few lodges of men, sometimes accompanied by a woman or two to do the cooking, went out on short hunting expeditions of less than a week's duration, or until they located and killed as many buffalo as they could pack back to camp. Possibility of these small groups being overtaken and massacred by enemy war parties made prosecution of these expeditions dangerous. Schultz (1907, pp. 62–63) witnessed these small winter hunting excursions during his residence among the Piegan prior to 1880.

THE WINTER HUNTING HORSE

Some Blackfoot Indians owned horses which were specially valued as winter hunting animals. The ideal winter buffalo runner was a male, at least 8 years of age, fully developed, solidly built, broad backed, long winded, and sure footed. It had to be a horse that did not mind the strong, cold, west wind, as the hunting approach was always against the wind. Many horses tended to duck their heads when running against the fierce winter blasts and so were of little value for hunting at that season. A colt that would break the ice of a stream and go into the water to drink was thought to be one that would later become a good winter hunting horse.

231 Winter hunting horses generally were fed on cottonwood bark and received special care during the cold months. In spring, when most other horses were weak and thin, these horses were strong. As soon as other buffalo runners fattened, the owner of a winter hunter let that horse run. It was not commonly ridden or used for hunting in summer or fall. I gained the impression that good winter hunting horses were rare and that they were owned by wealthy Indians only.

WINTER HUNTING ON FOOT

224 In some years the snow was so deep for extended periods it was impossible to use horses in hunting. Lazy Boy said that if the snow was over 4 inches deep it was useless to try to hunt buffalo on horseback. He recalled one winter when a rapid thaw was followed by a quick freeze. "Everything was ice. The only way we could hunt buffalo was to sneak up on them on foot."

There were a number of methods of stalking buffalo in winter. At that season the cold winds sweeping over the Plains drove wild game
[411] to shelter in timbered river valleys. Buffalo, deer, or antelope often could be found in the river bottoms near winter camps and killed

Abundance of buffalo, coupled with the efficient method of hunting 224
them provided by the use of horses, encouraged prodigal waste of
meat. As early as 1754, Anthony Hendry observed that when buffalo 261
were plentiful the "Archithinue" of the Saskatchewan Plains took only the tongues and other choice pieces, leaving the rest to the wolves (Hendry, 1907, pp. 334, 336, 338). Two Blackfoot hunters on horseback could kill enough buffalo to provide over a ton of meat in a matter of minutes on a single chase. Yet the average family possessed only enough pack animals to transport about a quarter of that [492]
weight in meat, in addition to household equipment, when camp moved. These factors encouraged "Light butchering" and use of only the choice parts of the buffalo in good times. Then feasting and the consumption of enormous quantities of meat within a short period of time were common. Then there was plenty of meat for rich and poor alike. Yet at other times, especially in late winter, when buffalo were scarce the Indians were reduced to strict rationing of limited food supplies on the basis of one meal a day.

IMPROVIDENT FOOD HABITS OF OTHER PLAINS TRIBES

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Examples of the wastefulness of buffalo resources by other Plains tribes are numerous in the literature. A few selected observations from fur traders' accounts show that such improvidence was common to wealthy and poor tribes alike. Larocque (1910, p. 60) wrote of the wealthy Crow, with whom he traveled in the summer of 1805:

> They are the most improvident with regard to provision. It is amazing what numbers of Buffaloes or other quadrupeds they destroy—yet 2 or 3 days after a successful hunt the beef is gone. When hunting they take the fattest and cut part of an animal and leave the remainder; but it is no wonder that in a country abounding so much in Deer of all kind and Buffaloes and where the inhabitants kill it with so much ease to themselves, being always on horseback, that their love of good eating should expose them to the danger of a temporary fast.

In 1804, Tabeau (1939, p. 208) said the Arikara "would always have more provisions than would be needed to sustain them, if they were not prodigal in times of abundance." Yet the Arikara were relatively poor in horses. Tabeau cited the consumption of more than 100 boned cows, providing in excess of 30,000 pounds of meat, by an Arikara village of about 200 people in 4 days. This would average a buffalo a day for a family of 8 Arikara during the period of this

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were the Blackfoot tribes and the Gros Ventres, having a combined population of about [224
9,400 (Vaughan in U. S. Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1858, p. 432). Probably the robes were all
taken during the 4 cold months when buffalo hair was long, making their robes acceptable 439]
to the traders. We may compute that the meat of the animals killed to supply the robes traded would have furnished a daily average of over 8 pounds per person over the 4-month period. In addition, the Indians killed buffalo to obtain robes for their own use as bedding, winter garments, etc. necessitating a still greater slaughter of buffalo.

171 feast. Even allowing for the voracious appetites of the Arikara there must have been much more meat wasted than eaten.

Boller (1868, p. 229) observed of the relatively poor Hidatsa-Mandan, "When there is plenty of meat, the large bones and coarse pieces are always thrown aside, but in times of scarcity there is absolutely nothing left but the head."

This feast or famine economy quite likely existed among the Plains Indians before the introduction of horses. Nevertheless, their employment of horses, by making buffalo much easier to kill, encouraged greater squandering of buffalo resources, hastened the extermination of the buffalo, and thus contributed to the disintegration of their traditional culture based upon buffalo hunting.

HUNTING OF OTHER MAMMALS ON HORSEBACK

237 The hides of deer, elk, and antelope were very useful to the Black-
291 foot in the manufacture of summer and dress clothing. These animals
were formerly numerous in the Blackfoot country. Although David
136 Thompson (1916, p. 359) wrote of Piegan "bets between individuals
224 upon hunting in running down animals, and the Red and Jumping
Deer" from horseback in the period ca. 1800, both the more recent
525 literature and the testimony of my informants claim that these animals
were hunted by footmen. Denig (1930, pp. 535–537) said it was the
171 general practice of all the Upper Missouri tribes to hunt deer, elk, and
antleope on foot.[34] My Blackfoot informants said that not only was
224 there no communal hunting of deer, elk, or antelope by mounted men,
but it was rare for a lone horseman to ride one of those animals down.
492 Weasel Tail said few Blackfoot-owned horses were swift enough to
chase them. Lazy Boy referred to a colt, born from a mare stolen from
the Shoshoni, that was able to catch up with an antelope herd as a
rare and unusually speedy horse.

224 Nevertheless the literature indicates that deer and antelope hunting
by mounted Indians of the southern Plains and Plateau was not un-
492 common.[35] Their skill and ability in this activity may be considered
171 proof of the greater speed of their horses as well as their superiority
as horsemen over the Blackfoot and other Upper Missouri tribes.

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[34] However, Raynolds (1868, p. 62) witnessed two Crow Indians chase an elk on horseback and bring it down, in the fall of 1859.

[35] The Nez Percé preferred to hunt deer from horseback "wherever the ground would permit," in Lewis and Clark's time (Coues, 1893, vol. 3, p. 1013). Teit (1930, p. 103) credited Coeur d'Alene horsemen with running down antelope on open ground, although "this kind of hunting was not always successful." In 1840, Tixier (1940, p. 169) witnessed an Osage deer hunt by relays of mounted men. Twelve years later Marcy (1937, p. 156) saw two young Comanche women ride after antelope, and rope them. Enoch Smoky told me the Kiowa formerly hunted deer, elk, and antelope from horseback.

724 1855, Blackfoot scalp raids may have averaged one every 2 years over
a half-century period. Although horse raiding continued unabated
178 for three decades after 1855, scalp raiding was not pursued with the
115 same frequency or fury as in earlier years. None of my elderly informants
had fought in a large-scale intertribal battle. In discussing
scalp raiding they relied heavily on what they had been told rather
than on their personal experiences.

THE RIDING BIG DANCE

726 An impressive preliminary to the departure of a scalp-raiding party
was the riding big dance, referred to by Wissler (1913, pp. 456–458)
535 as the "horseback dance or big dance." The warriors who volunteered
[231] to join the party first rode out of camp for some distance. There
they changed to their war clothes, painted themselves in their war
paint, painted pictographic representations of their coups on their war horses and decorated them with masks, bells, martingales, and feathers in their tails. Then they mounted and converged upon the camp from the four cardinal directions, carrying their weapons. As a number of old men and women stood in the center of the camp beating drums and singing a song with a lively rhythm, the warriors circled the camp on horseback. Then they shouted, dismounted, and danced on foot, imitating the prancing of their horses, which stepped along beside them to the beating of their drums.

Informants said there were no leaders in this dance. All warriors planning to embark on the expedition took part. The "riding big dance" was also given in former times at the Sun Dance encampment. Thus it survived as a spectacle after its discontinuance as a prelude to
535 a war party. Informants said the Piegan had not observed the riding
178 big dance since about 1900. Two of them expressed the wish that this
picturesque and exciting dance might be revived that younger Indians might learn of the splendor of their tribal past. In buffalo days, however, the riding big dance had as its "chief function . . . the arrousal of courage and enthusiasm for war," as Wissler (ibid., p. 456) has reported.

THE WAR HORSE

726 While the Blackfoot horse raider usually started for the enemy camp
afoot, the scalp raider uniformly rode to war. Warriors generally
492 employed their best buffalo horses as war horses. The same qualities
of speed and endurance, intelligence, sure-footedness and courage required of the buffalo runner were demanded of the war horse. The winter hunting horse was a favorite mount for war when snow was on the ground. Through experience in hunting a rapport was established between man and mount that enabled the rider to know the

peculiarities and capabilities of his mount and the horse to understand the wishes of his rider under trying conditions that required their close cooperation.[40] 726 492

Buffalo runners used in war were trained to run at a steady pace while the rider slipped to one side using the horse as a shield. They were trained to stop quickly, to carry men riding double, and to stay close to their masters when the latter dismounted. Both Weasel Tail and Chewing Black Bones stressed the importance of the last attribute. If the horse became panicky and ran away when the rider dismounted one or both might be killed. In training a horse to stand still near its master the rider stopped his running horse, jumped off, holding a slack line tied to the horse's neck, and when the horse started to move away he gave the line a violent jerk. After repeated experiences with this treatment the horse learned to stand still when its master dismounted without use of the line.

In order to spare the valuable war horse as much as possible and to save its strength for the action in which it was most needed, the Blackfoot warrior rode a common saddle horse to the field of battle, leading the war horse.[41]

EQUIPMENT: CLOTHING

The clothing carried by scalp raiders in the 19th century differed from that taken by horse raiders, although there was great disparity between the clothing of individual members. All generally set out wearing their undecorated, everyday clothes, but carried bundles tied to their saddles or suspended over their shoulders containing their war medicines and any articles of war costume they possessed. Men of wealth and distinction as warriors carried elaborately worked war shirts and leggings. Some owned straight-up feather bonnets decorated with strips of winter weaselskin which they carried in cylindrical rawhide cases. 714 292

When the enemy was sighted the war medicines and war costumes were donned before attacking, if time permitted. Sometimes the enemy attacked before this could be done. In that case the warriors carried their fine clothing into battle, for those articles also were

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[40] Opler (1936, pp. 210–211) distinguished between the Jicarilla Apache horse raid starting out afoot and the scalp raid proceeding mounted. Even among the relatively wealthy Comanche, Marcy (1937, p. 157) found that the war horse was ridden in the buffalo chase as well as for "going into battle" and "on state occasions." The Flathead war horse was also "used exclusively for bison hunting and fighting" (Turney-High, 1937, p. 109). [171]

[41] Hamilton (1905, p. 88) who accompanied a Teton Dakota party against the Pawnee in 1842, noted that the Teton led their war horses and did not mount them until they were ready to charge the enemy. Smoky told me it was Kiowa custom to ride to war on a less valuable horse and save the war horse for the charge. This was also Cheyenne practice (Grinnell, 1923, vol. 2, p. 17). [171]

714 horse period. He claimed this armor was adequate protection against
175 arrows but was unable to ward off bullets from early firearms. Consequently the Blackfoot abandoned its use after their enemies became armed with guns.

175 There are no contemporary descriptions of the use of this leather body armor by the Blackfoot specifically, although there are descrip-
714 tions implying its general use in the theater of warfare in which the
171 Blackfoot participated in the 18th century. In December 1772, Cocking (1908, p. 111) saw several horsemen in the Gros Ventres camp wearing "Jackets of Moose leather six fold, quilted, & without sleeves." He was also shown "a Coat without sleeves six fold leather quilted, used by the Snake tribe to defend them against the arrows of their adversaries." Umfreville (1790, pp. 188–189) stated that the Cree and their enemies (who certainly would have included the Blackfoot) wore "coats of mail, made of many folds of drest leather, which are impenetrable to the force of arrows" in their intertribal battles of the period ca. 1775.

175 There is no indication in either traditions or early contemporary writings that the Blackfoot used horse armor in the warfare of that
492 period or in later years. The only reference to horse armor used by
171 any of the common enemies of the Blackfoot appears in Lewis and Clark's description of the Lemhi Shoshoni in 1805, "they have a kind of armor like a coat of mail, which is formed of a great many folds of dressed antelope-skins, united by means of a mixture of glue and sand. With this they cover their own bodies and those of their horses, and find it impervious to arrows" (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 561).[illegible]

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175 [illegible] The earliest known description of the use of armor by any Plains Indian tribe refers to both body and horse types. In 1690, Tonty (Cox, 1905, p. 55) found the Caddo on Red
171 River wore "body-coverings of several skins, one over the other, as a protection from arrows. They arm the breasts of their horses with the same material, a proof that they are
714 not very far from the Spaniards." The French explorers Du Tisne and La Harpe found the Wichita and their neighbors on the Arkansas wore hide body armor and decked their horses
492 with breastplates of tanned hide in 1719 (Margry, 1886, vol. 6, pp. 294, 312). Five years later Bourgmont (ibid., vol. 6, p. 446) remarked that the Paduca (Apache) went to war dressed in "specially tanned buffalo skins with which they protect themselves. They also hang them around their horses to protect them against arrows." A Ponca tradition refers to their fights with mounted Comanche, before the Ponca themselves obtained horses, in which the Comanche employed horse armor "of thick rawhide cut in round pieces and made to overlap like the scales of a fish. Over the surface was sand held on by glue. This covering made the Ponca arrows glance off and do no damage." Some Comanche men also wore "breastplates made like those on their horses" (Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, p. 79).
175 Joseph La Flesche had no knowledge of Omaha use of armor, but he credited the Pawnee with former use of body armor comprising a coat of elkskins, two skins forming the front
171 and two the back, with sand between each pair of skins (Dorsey, 1896, pp. 267–268). In 1775 Peter Pond (1908, p. 354) reported that Yankton Dakota warriors, both mounted
714 and afoot, wore a "Garment Like an Outside Vest with Sleves that Cum down to there Elboes Made of Soft Skins and Several thicknesses what will turn an arrow at a distans." In the Southwest, the Navaho were reported to have employed two types of buckskin body armor of several thicknesses, one of which was specially designed for use on horseback. It reached to the knees and "was slit at the bottom both in front and behind, in order that the horse might be straddled" (Hill, 1936, p. 9). Teit recorded traditions among

USE OF THE HORSE AS A SHIELD

492 726

Wissler (1910, p. 155) reported that the Blackfoot, when fighting mounted "protected their bodies by hanging on the sides of the horses." My informants said boys learned this difficult feat in preparation for their careers as warriors, but that it was rarely employed in actual combat. The rider slipped to one side of his running horse, leaving only one leg over the back of the animal with which to take a heel hold over the horse's hipbone. With one hand the rider held his shield and reins and at the same time firmly grasped his horse's mane. With the other hand he fired his gun under the horse's neck. Both Weasel Tail and Lazy Boy pointed out the danger of this maneuver under combat conditions. It exposed the full side of the horse to the enemy, affording him a very sizable target which, if hit, might result in the horse's fall and death or serious injury to the rider. Only if the enemy possessed a stronger desire to capture the rider's horse than to destroy it would they be deterred from shooting at it. If the enemy were hard pressed, fighting defensively for their lives, they would have no qualms about shooting their opponents' horses.

A survey of the use of this maneuver by other Plains Indian tribes confirms my informants' testimony as to its impracticality as an

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the Coeur d'Alene, Okanagon, and Flathead of the wearing of elkhide body armor by warriors of those tribes. He found the Flathead discarded this armor "after the introduction of the horse as cumbersome and inconvenient in mounting and riding" (Teit, 1930, pp. 117, 256, 359). 175 171

The foregoing data testify that the wearing of body armor of several thicknesses of skin was virtually Plains-wide in the 18th century, and was customary among some if not all of the neighboring horse-using tribes farther west at that time. There can be little doubt that this armor was of native origin and was not adapted from the Spanish. As early as 1540 Spanish members of the Coronado expedition adopted native armor in preference to the heavy metal armor of European design. Aiton (1939, pp. 558–559) concluded his study of the equipment of that expedition with the statement, "The great majority wore native buckskin suits of armor, cueras de anta, which were much more comfortable on the march and quite effective against Indian weapons." Two centuries later (ca. 1760) the Spanish soldiers of Sonora still wore knee-length, sleeveless jackets of six or eight layers of well-cured deerskins as armor against the arrows of their Apache enemies (Pfefferkorn, 1949, p. 155). 714

Horse armor, however, had a much more restricted distribution among the horse-using Indian tribes. Contemporary sources tell of its use only by Indians of the Southern Plains and the Shoshoneans (Shoshoni and Comanche). Most probably its use was suggested by Spanish example. Horse armor did not spread far beyond those tribes which were in direct contact with the Spanish in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. 175 171 492

The Plains Indians appear to have abandoned the use of leather armor before the close of the 18th century. Lewis and Clark's account of the Lemhi Shoshoni in 1805 provides the last contemporary mention of the use of horse and body armor by any horse-using western tribe. Probably the ineffectiveness of this armor as protection against gunfire was the primary cause of its abandonment. However, the need for greater mobility and freer use of arms and legs both afoot and on horseback may also have encouraged Indian warriors to discard their bulky and weighty skin armor. The Indians must have noticed also that the English and French traders who supplied them with guns during the 18th century wore no armor. Their example may have been a third influence on the abandonment of armor by the Plains Indians. 175 171 714 177

● 492 offensive tactic. It was a display of horsemanship, tremendously impressive in sham battles to entertain visiting white men, but reck-
726 lessly ineffective under fire.[*]

POSTRAID CEREMONIES

727 The ceremonies following the return of a successful scalp raid also differed materially from those that followed the return of a party that
175 had been successful in stealing enemy horses. In 1833, Maximilian (1906, vol. 23, p. 119) described the return of a Blackfoot war party
727 with enemy scalps:

> When the warriors come near their camp, after a battle, they sing; and one rides or runs before, often in serpentine lines, backwards and forwards about the tents, holding up and shaking the scalp, and displaying it at a distance. If any one has taken a weapon, he displays it in the same manner, loudly pro-
> 175 claiming his name as having taken it. After a successful engagement, the
> 727 men sing the song which they call aninay, that is "they are painted black." On these occasions, they assemble in the open air about their tents, with their
> 533 faces painted black, and then sing, without the accompaniment of an instrument, nor are the scalps displayed. There are no words to this song, which consists only of the usual notes.

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[171] [*] George Catlin, who witnessed this tactic in a Comanche sham battle in 1834, left both a description and a drawing of it that helped to make this practice well-known to his many readers (Catlin, 1841, vol. 2, pp. 65–66 and pl. 167). However, numerous other writers, both before and since Catlin's publication reported its wide use among the Plains Indians. In 1805, Larocque wrote of the Crow, "In their wheelings and evolutions they often are not seen, having one leg on the horse back and clasping the horse with their arms around his neck, on the side opposite to where the enemy is" (Larocque, 1910, p. 64); Lewis and Clark, that same year, noted Lemhi Shoshoni use of this tactic (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 562). Leforge (Marquis, 1928, p. 92) cited an example of its use by the Teton Dakota; Hamilton mentioned its employment by the Cheyenne (Hamilton, 1905, p. 83); Wilson (1924, p. 154) by Hidatsa: Kendall (1844, pp. 212–214) by Kiowa; and Tixier (1940, p. 167) by Osage. Captain Marcy (1937, p. 156) confirmed Catlin's description of Comanche employment of this tactic. However, Tixier (1940, p. 268), whose information on the Comanche was derived from the experienced trader, Eduard Chouteau, wrote, "They knew better than the others how to hide behind their horse's body, but they scorn this method; they charge upon the enemy with their chest exposed and their arms outstretched, shouting a war cry."

The use of the horse as a shield was a trick riding act that greatly impressed white traders, explorers, and military men who saw it demonstrated by Indians at frontier forts or under peaceful conditions in Indian camps. The great majority of the writers who described this "war tactic" saw it employed only in sham battles, as had Catlin. William Hamilton (1905, p. 83), the old Indian fighter, said he had never seen this tactic employed in Indian warfare. My extensive readings in the literature on intertribal battles between Plains Indians, written by observers of these conflicts, have revealed just two descriptions of the employment of this tactic in actual warfare. Leforge (Marquis, 1928, p. 92) told of a fight between the Teton Dakota and Crow. As a prelude to the battle daring Crow and Teton riders took turns riding in this fashion at some distance from and parallel to the enemy line while their respective enemies vainly fired at them. It was an act of bravado on the part of these men that in no way affected the later course or outcome of the battle.
[175] On November 21, 1834, the trader Zenas Leonard, witnessed a battle between the Crow and Blackfoot. The latter and numerically inferior force occupied a fortified position on the brow of a hill. Crow riders rode in single file along the top of the hill. As each rider approached the Blackfoot breastwork he fired, then threw himself on the side of his horse leaving only one leg exposed, until he rode out of range of enemy fire. The Blackfoot shot and killed so many of their horses and men that the Crow were forced to abandon this unsuccessful maneuver. They made a direct, frontal assault, took the enemy position, and killed every Blackfoot defender (Leonard, 1904, pp. 263–264).

575 541 the hill out of sight of the crowd at the start and finish mark. The distance to be run always was measured by eye. The most frequently mentioned straightway distance was "about as far as you could barely see a horse on the open plain." Some courses were longer. Races were recalled in which the horses at the starting point could be seen from the finish only through a spy glass. Generally the distance was from 2 to 4 miles, very rarely shorter. Informants' statements thus tallied closely with Bradley's reckoning (in the 1870's) that Blackfoot horse races generally were run over a course of "three or four miles" (Bradley, 1923, p. 276).

There was a strict rule requiring each horse entered by a society to be the property of a member of that society. Usually each society had held trials some time prior to the race in which the fastest horses were run to determine the intersociety race entrant for that year. These trials were held in secret at some distance from the encampment. On the day of the race the two horses entered were watched carefully by members of the respective societies who were warned to [789] keep other people away from the competing horses. The greatest precaution was taken to prevent a horse medicine man from coming near the race horses for fear that he might use his secret power to make one of the horses tire or falter in the stretch. (See p. 272, on the powers of Blackfoot horse medicine men.)

541 Informants did not agree on the method of selection of the jockeys. Some said a jockey was selected by the owner of the race horse. Others claimed the society as a body chose the jockey. However, it is clear that jockeys usually were relatives of the horse owners. They were light, thin, adolescent boys or young men who knew how to handle [291] horses in races. Jockeys usually wore only breechclouts and tied their [302] hair behind their heads to keep it from blowing in their faces. Generally they rode bareback with only a war bridle (a two-reined raw- [492] hide rope looped once about the horse's lower jaw) and a whip to control the horse.

The finish line of the race was sometimes just a furrow scraped in the earth across the course. At other times it was marked by two piles of rocks, each about 3 feet high, erected some 60 feet apart. Each pile was set up by members of one of the competing societies. They were men who had used rock fortifications in the defense against the enemy.

541 525 Shortly before the race the two competing horses were brought to the finish line where the crowd gathered to view them and place bets on their favorites. Betting usually was heavy, by nonmembers as well as members of the rival societies. Horses were commonly wagered, the horses bet against each other were tied together and held by some lad. Guns, robes, blankets, and food were common stakes. A man might wager his pad saddle against another's bow, arrows, and

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The fact that the horse was a grass- rather than a meat-eater (as was the dog) compelled the Indians to pay close attention to pasturage requirements. Good grass for the horses became a determining factor in the selection of campsites and the duration of occupation of those sites. When horses consumed the grass in the neighborhood of a camp, that camp had to be moved. Eventually the Indians gained practical knowledge of the grasses and tree bark affording the best horse feed. They endeavored to locate their more settled winter camps in places where the best winter forage could be found. Thus the feeding habits of horses conditioned Blackfoot nomadism. In addition, the need to protect farflung grazing herds of horses increased the area of camps to be defended against enemy attacks.

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The fact that the horse was too large to keep inside the skin lodge with the family, that it habitually strayed if not restrained or carefully watched, and that it did not bark (as did the dog) in the presence of strangers, presented problems in the care and protection of domesticated animals such as were unknown to Indians of the Pedestrian Culture Period. Methods of herding, hobbling, picketing, corralling, and specialized winter care were developed in attempting to solve these problems posed by the very nature of the horse itself. The daily care and breeding of sizable herds of horses gave to the old hunting culture something of a pastoral quality unknown to the cultures of most primitive hunting peoples.

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The fact that the horse was larger and stronger than the dog and that it could be taught quickly to drag or bear heavy burdens or to carry a grown man on its back served to condition its functions in Indian culture. Methods of training horses and of teaching Indians to ride and manage these lively animals had to be perfected. These methods necessitated the learning of new motor habits on the part of the Indians. The manufacture of riding and transport gear became a new home industry requiring specialized manual skills. Adapting horses to the three primary uses of hunting, moving camp, and warfare presented numerous problems of varying complexity which challenged Indian ingenuity and stimulated thought. Whether the Blackfoot found answers to these problems for themselves or whether they borrowed the methods and techniques of other horse-using tribes, it is certain that every Blackfoot born and raised in the Horse Culture Period was required to learn motor and manual habits, owing to the presence of the horse in his cultural environment, of which Indians of the Pedestrian Culture Period were entirely ignorant.

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Through careful observation of horses, while living in daily contact with them, the Blackfoot Indians gained remarkable understanding of these animals. Their knowledge is illustrated by their ability to distinguish their own horses from those of other owners on sight,

224 camps of 100 to 200 lodges in summer (Henry and Thompson, 1897,
182 vol. 2, p. 723). Apparently the basic pattern of the Blackfoot yearly
round was established before the introduction of horses in response to
621 the requirements of buffalo hunting and ceremonial practices.[36]

174 Nevertheless, buffalo hunting on foot in the Pedestrian Culture
Period must have been exceedingly dangerous, arduous, time consum-
224 ing, and sometimes unsuccessful. Early historic accounts of impound-
174 ing and falling buffalo told of repeated failures to lure the game into
the traps prepared for them (Bolton, 1916, pp. 227–228; Cocking, 1908, pp. 109–112; Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 2, pp. 576–577).

If buffalo were nearly as plentiful on the Saskatchewan Plains in pre-horse times as they were known to have been in 1754 and later years, the early hunters occasionally must have slaughtered many more
174 animals than their immediate needs required. This must have encour-
262 aged feasting on choice morsels and waste of considerable quantities
of less desirable meat after a very successful hunt. On the other hand, the migratory habits of the buffalo and the limited mobility of the pedestrian Indians must have caused periods of food scarcity, reduced rations, and occasionally, perhaps, starvation. Probably famine was most common in winter in those days, just as periods of relative scarcity were experienced in later years when deep snows or icy ground
175 prevented the use of horses in hunting. In the severest winter weather
224 historic Blackfoot buffalo hunters enjoyed no advantage over their
prehistoric ancestors. They were forced to revert to methods of stalking buffalo on foot which must have been practiced by their forebears long before horses reached the Blackfoot country.

175 In the matter of food supply the greatest advantage horse users
492 enjoyed over their pedestrian ancestors lay in their ability to transport
quantities of dried provisions to their winter camps in the fall of
251 the year as insurance against hunger and starvation during the most
inclement winter months. Not only could horsemen follow the buffalo more closely and keep within striking range of fresh meat throughout most of the year, but they could save a portion of their fair weather surplus for consumption during periods of foul weather scarcity.

175 Probably horses were first adapted to hunting buffalo in the com-
224 munal hunt. In the mounted surround the Indians simply took ad-
vantage of the horse's greater mobility to expedite the kill. Horsemen
492 also replaced footmen in driving and luring buffalo into pounds or
over cliffs. The buffalo drive with the aid of horses survived until after the middle of the 19th century among the Blackfoot. Probably it was retained longest by those bands who were relatively poor in horses.

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[171] [36] La Vérendrye's (1927, pp. 311, 313) observations of the pedestrian, buffalo-hunting Assiniboin in 1738, mention their organization into sizable bands. In the fall of that year he met a village of 40 lodges, and visited another of 102 lodges.

It was the chase on horseback that fully exploited the horse's 175
ability to run faster than the swiftest buffalo. This new hunting
technique was more efficient and adaptable than any method previously 224
employed. Not only did it require a fraction of the time and 442
energy but it was less dangerous and more certain of success than
other methods. It could be employed by a single hunter or the men 182
of an entire village. Within a few minutes a skilled hunter, mounted
on a fleet, intelligent, buffalo horse could kill at close range enough
buffalo to supply his family with meat for months. Yet the chase
required no new weapon. The bow and arrow, and lance, both certainly [411]
known to their pedestrian ancestors, remained the favorite
weapons of Blackfoot buffalo hunters until the introduction of breech-loading
rifles, barely a decade before the extermination of the buffalo.
The effectiveness of the chase on horseback was due primarily to the
employment of carefully selected, trained, long-winded, buffalo horses.
Consequently these horses were prized possessions. Their selection
and training became important men's activities.

Once a considerable number of tribal members acquired buffalo
hunting horses, hunting on foot became obsolete as a warmer weather
technique. As the trader, Nathaniel J. Wyeth, shrewdly observed
a century ago, "It is a well-established fact that men on foot cannot
live even in the best game countries, in the same camp with those
who have horses. The latter reach the game, secure what they want,
and drive it beyond the reach of the former" (Wyeth, 1851, vol. 1, p.
208). Police regulation of the tribal summer hunt, which we have 625
noted was a characteristic of pre-horse communal buffalo hunting, 224
preserved the fiction of equal opportunity for all. Actually it 182
enabled the owner of the fastest running horse to get first chance
at the herd. It deprived the poor man, who owned no buffalo 795
horse, of the right to hunt. It is obvious that under such conditions
the poor would have been much worse off than they would have
been under pre-horse conditions, when every family in the camp participated
actively in the hunt and shared of its spoils, unless special
provisions were made for their benefit. The Blackfoot adopted two
measures necessary for the welfare of the poor: (1) the loaning of
buffalo horses to the poor by the wealthy, and (2) the presentation of
outright gifts of meat to the poor by successful hunters.

Undoubtedly the quickness and ease with which buffalo could be 182
dispatched by mounted hunters released active men's time and conserved
their energies for other activities such as warfare, feasting, 224
and ceremonies. A relatively small number of hunters could supply 461
meat for a band while other young men of the camp journeyed on prolonged
horse raids. Certainly the ease with which mounted hunters 224
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families, when given in the literature, does not exceed 6 to 12. The 175 necessity for feeding dogs (which were meat eaters like their masters) must have placed practical limits upon the number of dogs 492 owned in pre-horse days. Difficulties of managing dogs on the move must have been other factors limiting their numbers as burden bearers. Informants frequently mentioned the penchant of travois dogs for chasing rabbits or female dogs, for fighting among themselves, and for running into streams to drink while in harness. To prevent dog fights travois had to be spaced some distance apart while on the move. To supplement the services of the dogs, women [482] of the camps had to carry heavy burdens on their backs. I have pointed out the survival of this custom among horse-poor tribes in historic times (pp. 142–143). Dog transport was wholly inadequate for conveying the aged, sick, or infirm adults. Informants esti- [484] mated that a train of heavily loaded dogs would travel no more than 5 or 6 miles a day.

Limited transport facilities inevitably restricted the weight of baggage that could be carried by the pre-horse nomads, and thus limited their possessions. In 1599, Onate observed that the lodge 171 covers of the southern Plains Indians met by his expedition were transported by medium-sized dogs and weighed less than "two arrobas" (50 pounds) (Bolton, 1916, p. 227). Unless the buffalo-cowskins of which those covers were made were dressed thinner, and therefore were lighter in weight than the buffaloskins used for lodge covers in later years, the covers seen by Onate must have comprised no more than six or seven skins. Six or seven skin lodges are attributed to the Blackfoot of the Pedestrian Culture Period in tribal 492 traditions. Larger covers could have been used if they were made 174 in two pieces, each transported on the back or travois of a single 342 dog. But the necessity for dragging the lodgepoles, which increased in length and weight with the size of the lodge, must have encouraged 182 the use of small lodges in the years before horses were available for pole dragging services.

One aged Blackfoot informant had heard a tradition to the effect that some of his pre-horse ancestors did not use a tipi at all but stretched buffaloskins over upended dog travois to form a shelter. The use of such a shelter would have eliminated the necessity of transporting tipi poles when camp moved. Grinnell (1923, vol. 1, 171 p. 50) reported Cheyenne traditions of their former use of this type of shelter. Wilson (1924, pp. 223–224, figs. 51–55) described and pictured this type of structure as employed by Hidatsa in the third quarter of the 19th century when suitable tipi poles were not available. It provided sleeping quarters for as many as 11 people. Maximilian (1906, vol. 23, p. 16) actually saw horse-poor Assiniboin

171 erecting temporary traveling huts of poles, dog travois, and brush near Fort Union in 1833. There is, therefore, ample proof of the use of a dog travois foundation shelter by northern Plains Indians. 174 However, I am inclined to believe that the tipi probably was the primary dwelling of the Blackfoot of the Pedestrian Culture Period. 342 All available information, both traditional and comparative, points to the relative smallness of the homes of the pre-horse Blackfoot.

174 Nevertheless, it is possible that two or more families may have shared a single lodge in order to minimize the load to be transported. 592 In 1700, Le Sueur (1902, p. 187) noted that "two or three men with their families" lived in one buffaloskin lodge among the pedestrian 171 Sioux near present Mankato, Minn. Three quarters of a century later the elder Henry (1809, p. 309) observed that two to four families resided in a lodge among the horse-poor Assiniboin.

174 The baggage that could be carried by dogs and women, over and above the lodge itself, must have been very limited. ● 492 Elaborate lodge furnishings, numerous changes of clothing, extensive supplies of fresh 182 or dried meat, wild fruits and vegetables would have been excess baggage to the pre-horse Blackfoot. So probably would have been large and bulky medicine bundles, such as the natoas, medicine pipe, and beaver bundles of the late 19th century represented in museum collections today. If such bundles existed they probably were of less complex, more rudimentary form. The great bulk of the baggage [785] must have consisted of articles essential to daily living. In the meagerness of its possessions the average Blackfoot family of the Pedestrian Culture Period must have resembled the poor family of 19th century buffalo days, and for the same basic reason—lack of facilities for transporting heavy loads when camp was moved.

492 The application of horse power to camp movement enabled the Blackfoot to move farther and faster with heavier loads. 182 The horse, packing 200 pounds on its back or hauling 300 pounds on the travois, could move four times the load of a heavily burdened dog twice as far in a day's march. Thus, animal for animal the horse was eight [342] times as efficient as the dog as a burden bearer. Horse transport permitted the manufacture, use, and movement of lodges with larger and heavier covers and longer poles—larger Indian homes. Not only could the family of average means have a home of its own, but the wealthy family often possessed more than one lodge. Not only could essential possessions be moved, but bulky or heavy articles of only [482] occasional use could be taken along. Women no longer were compelled to carry backbreaking burdens, but rode horseback and con- [888] served their energies for other tasks. The aged and the physically handicapped could be carried on travois, and were no longer in danger of abandonment on the Plains by their able-bodied fellows.

Possession of a herd of horses was the prime requisite of the family 556
that would enjoy these advantages of a higher standard of living.
In historic Blackfoot culture that meant families of wealth and of 231
the middle class. Poor families not only lacked these advantages
but were handicaps to the more fortunate. When camp was moved 735
the latter were faced with the problem of slackening their pace to
that of the poor pedestrians, of leaving the poor families behind, 492
or of furnishing the poor with enough horses to move their meager
possessions at a more rapid rate. Enlightened self-interest motivated [426]
wealthy families in loaning some of their surplus horses to the poor
for moving camp.

It is noteworthy that the dog travois did not become entirely outmoded 178
after the acquisition of horses. The dog travois remained a
useful contrivance for gathering wood near camp and for auxiliary 492
transport in carrying light articles when camp moved. Lightly burdened
dogs could keep pace with the more heavily burdened horses.
Finally, possession of a number of dogs trained for travois duty served
as insurance against some evil day when a family horse herd might
be stolen by enemy raiders or lost through disease or winter storms,
as well as against the hard winter when dogs might travel over
crusted snows in which burdened horses would have bogged down.

INFLUENCE ON WARFARE

Saukamappee told David Thompson (1916, pp. 328–332) of large-scale 174
battles between the Piegan and Shoshoni in pre-horse times, in
which the opposing forces, although ostensibly seeking enemy scalps, 726
were content to form lines facing each other, barely within arrow [714]
range, protecting themselves behind large rawhide shields (3 feet in
diameter), while shooting arrows at their opponents from their long [411]
bows (the length of which came to their chins). This was a fire fight
which continued until darkness put an end to the battle. Casualties [727]
were few and there was no close contact if the numbers of the competing
forces were nearly equal. Although the warriors carried lances, [411]
knives, and battle axes, they apparently made no use of these shock
weapons unless there was sufficient disparity in numbers between the
forces to encourage the larger one to close with the enemy.

The acquisition of guns and horses rendered that old, static, primarily 182
defensive, pitched battle obsolete. No longer could a warrior
hide behind his shield in safety. Accent shifted to offensive mobility. 726
Defensive weapons, the 3-foot shield and body armor, which impeded 411
movement on horseback, were discarded. Only a small, rawhide
shield, just large enough to cover the vital organs of a mounted warrior, 492
was used for protection. Even muzzle-loading firearms were of [714]
limited service to the mounted warrior, who found difficulty in reload-

182 ing them on a running horse. The old reliable bow and arrows (the
726 bow shortened to facilitate its use on horseback) remained the pri-
mary fire weapons, while the lance, war club, and knife continued in
492 common use as shock weapons. The mounted charge brought com-
411 batants into close contact affording them opportunities for wielding
their favorite shock weapons in hand-to-hand conflicts in which the
skill, strength, agility, and courage of the individual were of vital
[727] importance. Although this man-to-man fighting tended to increase
casualties greatly, it also offered much greater opportunities for
[703] Indians to achieve individual coups or war honors, which were scaled
according to the degree of courage required to win them.

Saukamappee also informed Thompson (ibid., p. 329) that the
182 greatest damage in the scalp raids of the pre-horse period occurred
726 when a larger force surprised, attacked, and massacred a small camp
492 of 10 to 30 lodges, which was obliged to separate for hunting. Prob-
ably that type of action was much more common in pre-horse warfare
than the indecisive pitched battle between forces of nearly equal size.
It also occurred with some frequency in historic times, with the same
disastrous results.

174 The precursor of the horse raid in Blackfoot warfare must have been
the slave raid. Girls or young women from neighboring tribes were
721 captured for economic reasons as well as for purposes of sexual grati-
fication. They provided needed assistance in the communal hunt,
performed laborious household chores, and carried burdens when
171 camp was moved. The early literature of the northern Plains tells
of the practice of slave raiding in the middle of the 18th century. In
721 fact, it was an "Earchethune" (Blackfoot or Gros Ventres) slave,
175 taken to Fort York by her Assiniboin or Cree captors some time prior
to 1743, who inspired James Isham to send Anthony Hendry to seek to open trade with the distant tribes of the Upper Saskatchewan in 1754 (Isham, 1949, pp. 113–15). At the "Archithinue" village of 200 lodges Hendry "saw many fine girls who were captives," proving that those people also took female slaves (Hendry, 1907, p. 339). The 50 or more slaves seen by Bougainville (1908, pp. 187–189) at the French posts in present Manitoba and Saskatchewan in 1757, probably included some Blackfoot women. As late as the first decade of the 19th century neighboring Cree still referred to the Blackfoot as "slaves," although by that time horse raiding had largely supplanted slave raiding in the warfare of the area (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 2, p. 523). It seems fair to assume that the capture of female slaves, prominently mentioned by mid-18th-century observers, was a survival from pre-horse times and did not originate in the few years between the acquisition of horses and the first historic mention of slave raiding in and near the Blackfoot country.

It was not until the American Fur Co. established a post on the Missouri (1831) in Blackfoot country, and that company began to 175 accept buffalo robes in trade that the Blackfoot became important 429 procurers of animal skins for the fur trade. Long before that time the Blackfoot had become experienced in the use of horses. Only through the use of horses for killing and transporting buffalo could the great number of robes supplied the traders by the Blackfoot in the period ca. 1835–80 have been obtained. Only through the exploitation of cheap and accessible land and water transportation could traders handle a sufficient volume of heavy, bulky, and relatively cheap buffalo hides to make trade in them profitable. The mountain men, who continued to collect the furs of smaller mammals and to transport them overland, made as extensive use of horses in their operations as did the Blackfoot, whom they tried to avoid.

Larpenteur's statement (p. 29, this bulletin) equating wealth in 556 horses, polygamy, and extensive trade at the posts clearly shows the 231 correlation between Indian wealth in horses (which permitted the killing of many buffalo), the polygamous union (which provided many 595 female hands to dress robes and skins for market), and large-scale 429 trade at the posts. It was the wealthy Indian who was the primary 182 patron of the trading posts. Poor men had few robes to offer.

The fur trade furnished to the Indians new materials for use in 177 their manufactures, arts, and crafts. Their use of horses influenced the form and function of many of the items made from these new 429 materials. Metal knives obtained in trade greatly facilitated the 231 manufacture of articles of rawhide. But these articles were pri- 182 marily saddles, harness, and transport luggage especially designed for use in moving camp with horses. The fur trade supplied glass beads, cloth, metal, and shell for use in making and decorating articles of clothing, as well as horse gear. Yet in designing these articles the Indians were mindful of the enhancement of their appearance on horseback. Generally it was the wealthy family that possessed the most elaborately decorated costumes and riding and transport gear. Those who owned no horses had none of them.

Both the horse and the gun influenced Indian warfare, encouraging 492 the abandonment of fighting in closely grouped, static lines, in favor of mobile, spread formations. Both horse and gun encouraged the 411 abandonment of heavy, rawhide body armor which impeded physical 182 movement without providing adequate protection from gunfire. 726 When first employed by the Blackfoot against enemies unfamiliar with the use of firearms, the muzzle-loading flintlock created a panic 411 among their opponents out of all proportion to its true effectiveness as a fire weapon (Thompson, 1916, pp. 330–332). But in later years, 182 after both the Blackfoot and their neighbors were armed, the muzzle- 726

APPENDIX

USE OF MULES

The Mexican mule, described by Captain Marcy (1859, p. 112) as 175
"square-built, big-bellied and short-legged" in comparison with the
larger American mule, reached the Blackfoot country little if at all 231
later than did the horse. Anthony Hendry saw "four Asses" in the
"Archithinue" camp on the Saskatchewan Plains which he visited in
October 1754 (Hendry, 1907, p. 339). David Thompson wrote of a [721]
Piegan raid on a Spanish party far to the southward, which may have
occurred as early as 1787, in which these Indians captured many mules
as well as horses. He also described another raid by the Piegan on
the Shoshoni in 1787, during which the raiders took horses and 15
mules (Thompson, 1916, pp. 370, 341–342). Buffalo-Back-Fat, noted
Blood head chief prior to 1850, is said to have been especially fond
of mules. He is reputed to have owned as many as 60 mules at one
time. His younger relatives and friends gave him any mules they
captured from enemy camps. He kept his mules in a separate herd.

The Blackfoot tribes continued to take mules from their enemies 175
until the end of intertribal horse raiding in 1887. Before mid-century
they began to obtain the larger American mules which had been 231
stolen or traded from overland emigrants or the United States Army 727
by tribes living to the south of the Blackfoot. Weasel Head, a Piegan
informant, claimed to have stolen six mules from the Crow in the
days of intertribal warfare.

The Blackfoot tribes never bred mules. Wissler found that "mules 231
were highly prized" by the Blackfoot "as they were thought to have
superior powers of various kinds. Their origin was regarded as
mysterious" (Wissler, 1910, p. 97). However, Weasel Tail claimed
that Blood Indians early learned from the Nez Percé how these
hybrids were bred from the union of a mare and a donkey. Informants stated that the Blackfoot valued mules highly because of their
strength and smartness.

In my informants' youth the Blackfoot tribes used mules primarily 492
as transport animals. Weasel Head claimed mules' necks were too
strong to permit their use as tractable riding animals. They were
employed primarily for hauling lodgepoles in moving camp. A
strong mule could haul at least a third more poles than could the average Indian pony. Some mules also served for packing meat and
camp equipment. Weasel Tail said that in his youth the Blood used

492 a mule to bring in the center pole for the medicine lodge. They lashed two stout lodgepoles to each side of the mule, tied two shorter poles across those poles at the usual position of a travois loading platform, and lashed the butt end of the center pole securely to these cross poles with a broad rawhide rope. The upper end of the center pole dragged along the ground as the mule pulled the load. Piegan informants had no knowledge of their tribe's use of mules for this purpose.

438 Because of their superior strength mules had a greater trade value than packhorses in intratribal trade among the Blackfoot. A mule owner could ask two horses for his mule and receive them in exchange.

171 *Comparative data on use of mules.*—In 1805, Lewis and Clark saw mules with Spanish brands among the Shoshoni which were "the finest animals of that kind we have ever seen . . . . The worst are considered as worth the price of two horses, and a good mule cannot be obtained for less than three and sometimes four horses" (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 559).

In the 1870's the Crow Indians stole mules from the Sioux, many of which bore the United States brand, indicating that the Sioux in turn had taken them from the Army. The Crow "liked to get these animals for dragging lodge poles" (Marquis, 1928, p. 101). Wilson (1924, p. 277) indicated Hidatsa preference for mules as pack animals. My Kiowa informants said their tribe also used mules primarily for packing.

Among the tribes near the Mexican and Texan settlements mules were more common than among the northern tribes. George Catlin, during his visit to a large Comanche encampment in 1834, observed that about one-third of these Indians' herds were composed of mules "which are much more valuable than horses" (Catlin, 1841, vol. 2, p. 62).

It is noteworthy that the Spanish of Sonora in the middle 18th century valued a mule at twice the price of a horse, and used mules primarily for packing heavy loads (Pfefferkorn, 1949, pp. 94–95).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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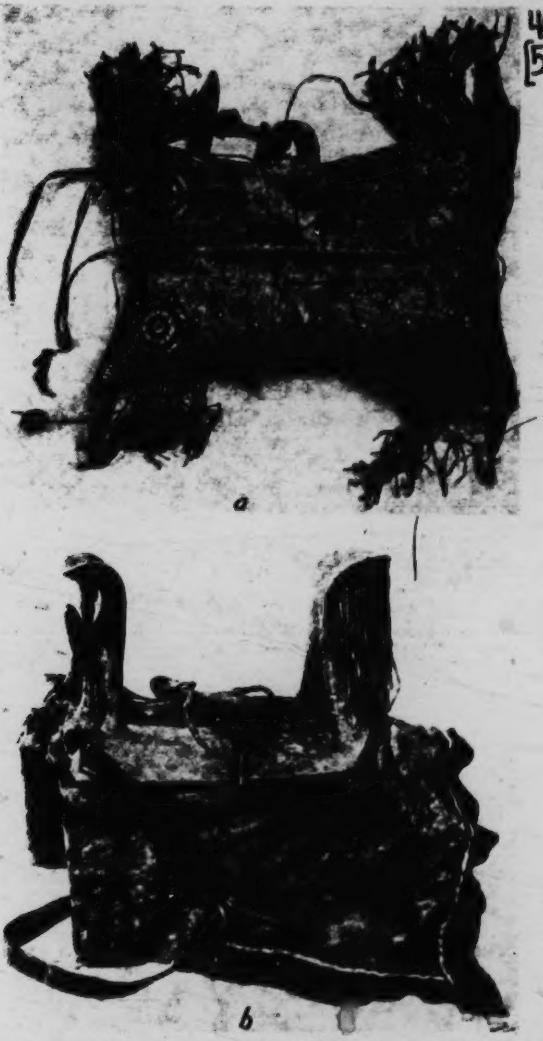
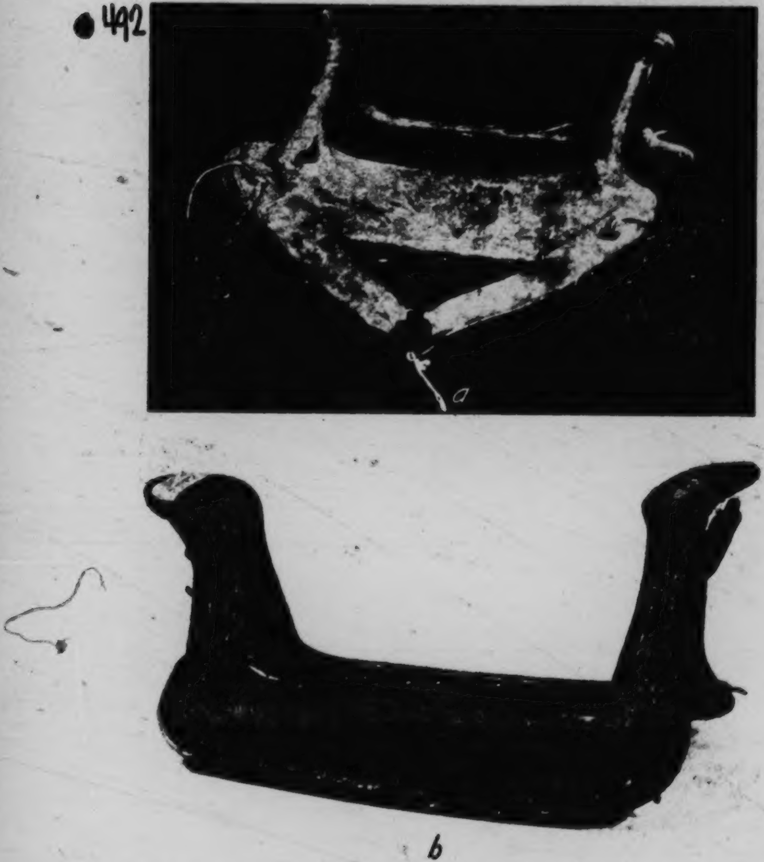


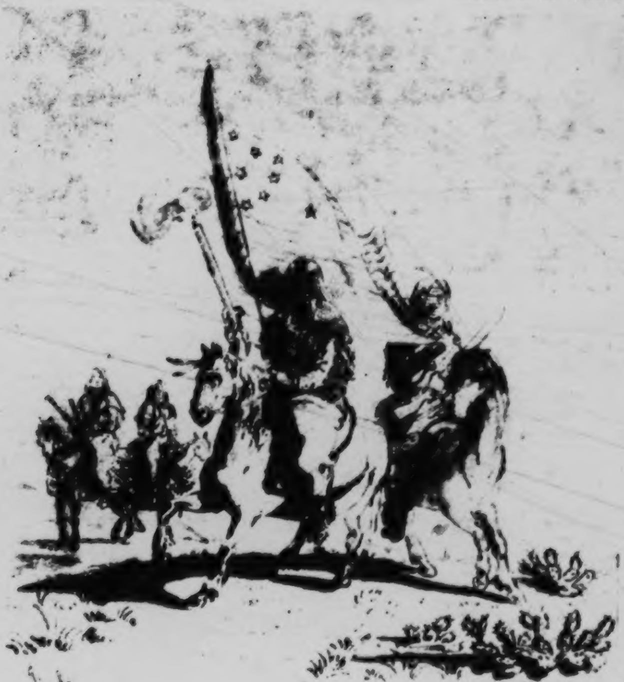
a, Man's pad saddle, Blackfoot. (Collected by Capt. Howard Stansbury, 1849. U. S. N. M. No. 2656.) *b*, Woman's "wood saddle," Blood Indians. (Collected by R. N. Wilson, 1897. Chicago Museum of Natural History No. 51752.)

[p.358-A]



a, "Prairie chicken snare saddle," Piegan. (Museum of the Plains Indian. Cat. No. 187L.) *b*, Wooden frame pack saddle, Sioux. (Collected by Dr. Nathan S. Jarvis, 1833–36. Brooklyn Museum. Accession No. 50-67-62.)

[p.358-B]



"The Bloods Come in Council." Pencil sketch by Gustavus Sohon in 1855, showing horse equipment of the period. (U. S. National Museum.)

[p. 358-c]

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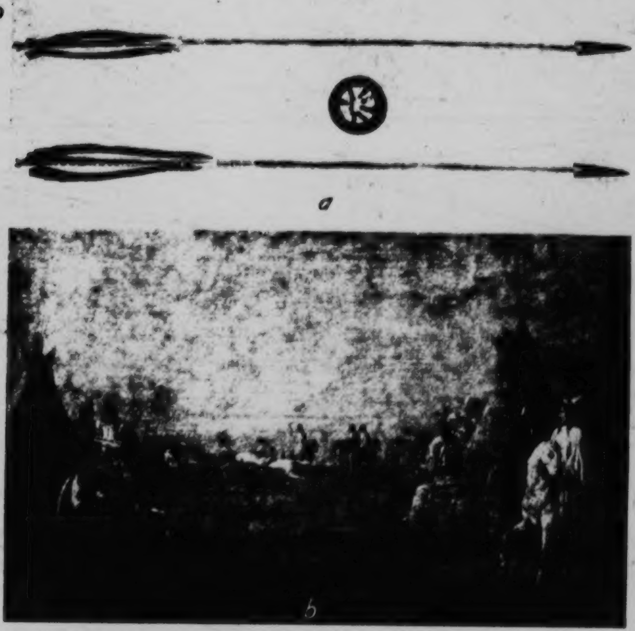

a, Beaded wheel and arrows used in the hoop and pole game, North Piegan. (Collected by R. N. Wilson in 1901. Chicago Museum of Natural History No. 69351.) *b*, Blackfoot horse race, June 1, 1848. (Painting by Paul Kane. Courtesy Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology.)

[p 358-L]

9: Ewers E;G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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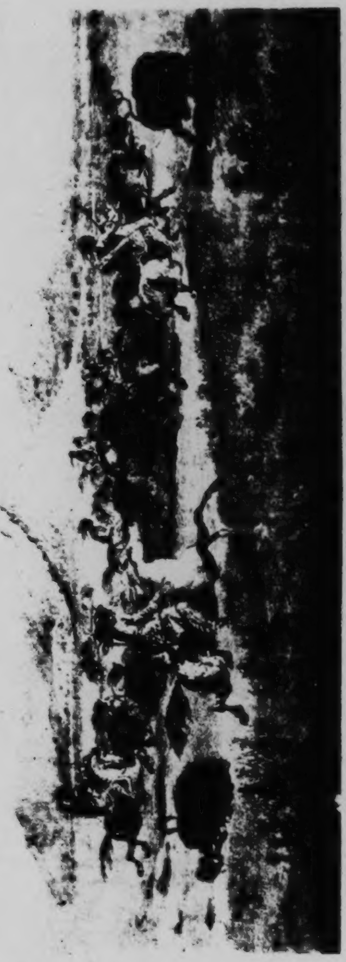

Piegan Indians chasing buffalo near the Sweetgrass Hills in September 1853. (Lithograph from original illustration by John Mix Stanley.)

[p. 358-M]

only the poorest households which were without their guns, iron axes, kettles, beads, awls, blankets, etc.

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Changes in Material Culture

The enlargement of the buffalo corrals and the increase in the size of tipis were a direct result of the fur trade. In order to supply the traders with more buffalo hides the Blackfoot enlarged the corrals and pounds by adding appendages in the following manner:[108]

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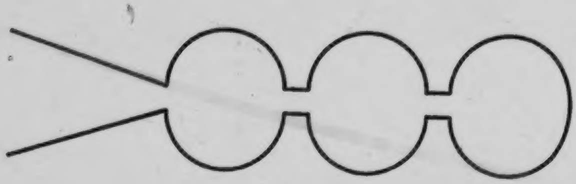

It is possible to discern an increase in the size of tipis at two points in Blackfoot history. The first occurred a short time after the introduction of the horse. While we have no description of Blackfoot tipis in pre-horse days we can infer the limits of their size from the fact that the maximum load that could be carried by the dog travois was between 40 to 50 pounds. Since the weight of a buffalo hide was well over 50 pounds, a six to eight skin tipi would probably tax their transportation facilities to the limit. Such a tipi could accommodate between six to eight persons. However, in the earliest reference to Blackfoot tipis found in Henday (1754) or about twenty years after their acquisition of horses, Henday writes that the "leaders" tent in a camp of two hundred was "large enough to contain 50 persons."[109] From this we can infer that the size of tipis had increased to a point that would have been impossible without the improved means of transportation supplied by the horse. I think we can assume that the tipi mentioned by Henday represented the maximum size for this period and were constructed only by well-to-do chiefs.

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A further increase in the size of tipis occurred in the 1830's and was related to the expansion of the fur trade and the growth of polygyny among the Blackfoot. The average tipi was made of from six to twelve skins and accommodated from six to ten people. However, in the case of wealthy

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[108] J. Richardson, Blackfoot Field Notes, Mss.

[109] Henday, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

000 of buffalo. The horse became an invaluable aid in scouting and allowed
231 entire bands to follow the movements of the herds. In addition the horse
492 was used as a pack animal. Formerly, when hunting parties went on foot
224 they were limited in the amount of meat they could carry back to camp.
182 It was the practice to take only the best cuts and leave the remaining
meat to decay. The horse made it possible to transport more meat and hides
back to camp. The horse therefore insured a larger and more regular food
supply, lessening the contrasts between periods of plenty and periods of
231 scarcity. However, it was the fur trade which allowed the Blackfoot to
439 utilize the productive capacities of the horse to the full, for we have seen
177 that the fur trade provided a market for dried provisions, buffalo hides and
178 horses.

Marriage

439 It is well to recall that over 20,000 robes were annually gathered at Fort
177 Benton. Since the Blackfoot, and especially the Piegan, were the principal
178 traders at Fort Benton we can gauge the effects of this trade upon their
(562) lives. The increased burden of preparing provisions and tanning put new
demands upon female labor and increased the economic importance of
(595) women. Polygyny grew to an extent unprecedented for the Plains.

175 From the journals of those who visited the Blackfoot at various intervals
in the history of the fur trade we can piece together a picture of this growth
595 of polygyny. In 1787 Thompson observed that three or four wives were not uncommon and that the greatest number any man had was six.[118] From his account we conclude that most men had only one or two wives. When Thompson returned in 1800 he reported no change. Alexander Henry, the younger, who was with the Blackfoot in 1810, reported six or seven wives as the greatest number.[119] Maximilian writing in the 1830's mentions eight wives in the case of wealthy chiefs.[120] Unfortunately, there is a great gap in the historical information on this subject until about 1870. However, tracing back to 1840 a number of genealogies gathered from informants, we have found further evidence for this steady increase of wives. Grinnell, writing of approximately the same period (1840) stated, "... it was a very poor man who did not have three wives. Many had six, eight, and some even more than a dozen; I have heard of one who had sixteen."[121] Denny, a captain in the first contingent of the Northwest Mounted Police in 1874, and later an Indian agent for the Blackfoot, wrote, "I have known Blackfoot with as many as twenty or even thirty women so acquired (by pur-

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[118] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

[119] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 526.

[120] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[121] G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 218.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

PLATE III

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[492] ●

FAVORITE CHILD READY FOR THE OWL DANCE

MOUNTED ON A PAINTED HORSE, THE LONG TIME PIPE ON HIS BACK

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HEAD CHIEF'S WIFE IN PAINTED TIPI

[p.44-c]

241 generosity was galling. When visitors from the North Piegan re-
serve, where gardening had taken hold, came visiting with presents
177 for their poor Blackfoot relations, the latter could give nothing in
431 return. As additional inducement the farm instructors gave out
various labour-saving devices: a plough was substituted for the
241 spades; later oxen replaced the backs of men and the Indian ponies
177 for pulling the plough. Mowers could cut oats faster and more easily
than a scythe. A harvester separated seed from chaff more quickly
407 than the feet of men and women, faster even than the horses that
492 Eagle Ribs turned into the corral to tramp the grain. Every chief
knew that if he did not care for the needs of his followers as other
622 chiefs did for theirs, his followers would move away. Such failure
brought ignominy.

241 One by one the chiefs changed their minds, as the benefits of
gardening became more evident. In the ten years following settling
on the reserve in 1882, the area under cultivation increased from
169 acres to 311.[1] During these years each band was induced to
plant an area of oats and another of potatoes. Some rounded out
the crop with seeding of various roots. It was humiliating, arduous
labour, little to the people's liking, but seeing tangible rewards for
[433] their efforts, they went ahead with it. The produce fluctuated from
year to year, but several thousand bushels of potatoes were har-
vested every year varying from 2,370 in 1883 to 14,838 in 1890.

177 This new economy on the reserve could not develop without
introducing many changes in the social structure. In the first place
there was a conflict between Indian ways and white ways. We have
noted this conflict in its relationship to gardening, where following
648 the Indian way served as a slogan to rally the disaffected. Its rami-
fications entered also the realm of political control where trouble
622 arose from the very start.

177 On treaty-signing day in September, 1877, after fifteen or twenty
Northern Blackfoot chiefs had signed Treaty No. 7, Crowfoot called
forth about eight of them to receive the silver medals from the
government. The necessity of choosing the "top eight" from the
continuum of chiefs would be awkward for any Blackfoot. There
might be universal agreement on such figures as Crowfoot, Old Sun,
and Running Rabbit, but at the lower levels, where status could

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[127] [1] Unless otherwise specified, all statistics on reserve population, production, earnings, property, and school attendance are taken from the annual reports of the Department of Indian Affairs for the years cited. Each year these and other statistics are listed for all reserves in the Dominion.

657 Indian Commissioner E. Dewdney may have already seen the
failure of gardening as an occupation when in 1885 he defended the
241 costly rationing system against its critics. "The present system that
obtains is to extract as much work as possible for the food given
them."[1] In fact, by permitting many families to hunt during the
winter, a savings of several thousand dollars was effected in the
purchase of meat rations. Obviously, however, gardens were but a
stopgap and not the royal road to self-sufficiency. Other types of
income-producing work would have to be found.

135 For a decade, coal deposits were known to be present along the
bluffs of the Bow River. Attempts to induce white capital to develop
316 this resource had been made with no success. The coal lay idle until
1889, when a miner was hired to teach the Indians its extraction.
[177] A few Indians living in adjacent villages co-operated in this venture
and were rewarded with five or six dollars from time to time. Others,
[492] with a wagon loaned by the agency, hauled coal to the stoves of
reserve officials. A caravan of twenty ox-drawn carts was then
formed to freight coal to High River for the Industrial School. Old
Calf Bull wisely perceived the value of this project and, as chief of
the Bakers band, recruited his young men to help, dividing the
receipts among the workers. A year or two later Bear Robe and
Many Meats started mines themselves, which even in the absence
of the white miner kept their relatives in dresses and leggings
[439] through the winter. By 1900 many a small timbered shaft had been
dug, and Blackfoot coal pedlars appeared in the growing white
villages of the neighbourhood. Little boys, too small to mine, posted
themselves as watchers along the trails leading to the river to spot
the wagon of an approaching rancher and direct it to the mine of
their relatives.

314 Another means of increasing Indian self-sufficiency was found
in haying. Hay was needed for the ration cattle and for the white
177 ranchers' herds outside the reserve. The Indians were a cheap source
of labour; prairie grass was thick and abundant; the work was
strenuous but not complex. The Indians with their penchant for
roving could rove to their heart's content in search of hay. Moreover,
the agent thought this work would prepare them for the day
when they themselves would handle cattle, and rations could be
abolished.

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[1] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1885, p. 144.

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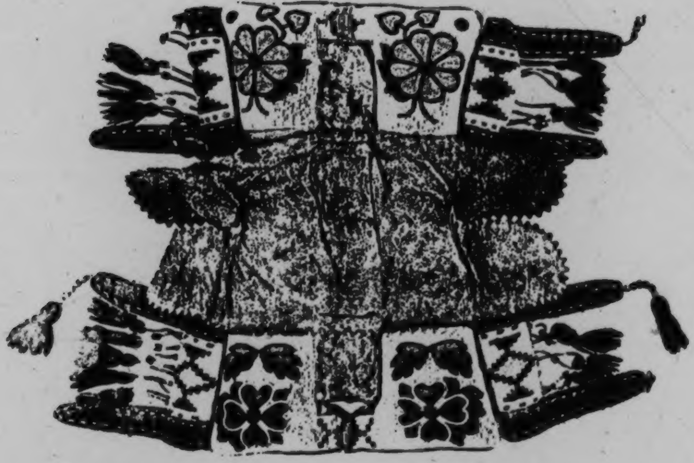

Fig. 34 — A Man's pad saddle of the Blood Indians. Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute. Ethnology Department. Catalogue No. AP 1952.

535 lasting until daybreak. Sometimes people are invited to attend the dance,
272 and at others they simply come together of their own accord.

[533] There are special songs for the dance and drums are used. The dancers
[534] rise and dance in place, beating time on a dipper of tea while dancing.

The Night Singers.

533 It is an old custom among the Blackfoot for parties of young people to
883 ride about the camp at night, singing. That this is a distinct thing is evident
[492] since there is a distinct series of songs used only on such occasions. At such times they often ride double, that is two men on a single horse, or often a man and a woman. Mr. Duvall writes as follows:—

> [625] These young men sometimes ride around all night and sing. Formerly, it was done to guard the camp and protect the horses from being stolen by the enemy. The singers usually go around the outer edge of the camp, making many rounds. There are usually three or four groups with three or four men in each group. Sometimes women assist the night singers.
>
> The night singers do not necessarily have to belong to any society but anyone
> [834] may join them. This custom is kept up nowadays only during the sun dance. It is not understood as good form for the women or girls to go out with the night singers. Although a great many of the grass dance songs are sung, there are special songs also. The singing is usually continued until daylight. At the end of each song they usually shout and keep time with sleigh bells when singing. They are never ordered to sing at the present time.

The Begging Dance.

535 The Piegan name for this dance is "those that dance around camp for a
276 smoke." The members do not belong to a society, but a number of men,
[533] six or twelve, or sometimes more, go to some tipi and sing and shake their
[534] bells. This may be done at any time of the night. The owner of the tipi fills a pipe and lets them smoke, gives them some food, a blanket, clothing,
[431] a horse, or money. The presents are divided up among the men. The owner of the tipi seldom knows who the men are. They repeat this at four tipis and then disband. Several groups of these men may go around at the
[556] same time, but they never stop at the same tipi. Usually, the men stop at the tipi of a chief or head man as they are more sure of getting a smoke, for it adds to one's prestige to be generous with presents, feasts, etc.

[pp. 461-986 not processed]

342 adjusting the poles, be set wide apart, leaving a clear smoke-
[354] hole in fine weather or be drawn together to exclude wind and
rain or to retain heat at night after the fire had died down.
[237] The doorway was a mere slit, often worn oval by use and
covered with a hide curtain outside. In recent times the usual
tipi was about fourteen feet in diameter and about ten feet
high, but some were occasionally over twenty feet and required
more than forty skins for their covers. Before horses were
available to assist in transport the tipis must, however, have
been considerably smaller.

[353] On the inside, a wall or lining strip of hide, four or five feet
[237] high, hung vertically from the poles to which it was lashed.

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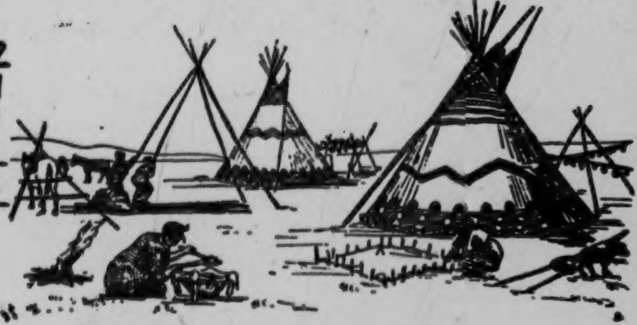

FIG. 20. A BLACKFOOT ENCAMPMENT

342 This excluded ground draughts and provided convenient cup-
[353] board space within. The fire-place, surrounded by a ring of
flat stones, was set below the smoke-hole, usually a little in
front of the centre, since the poles of the back sloped more
[353] steeply than the front. Ceremonial objects and trophies were
placed at the rear behind a second fire-place at which sweet
352 grasses were burned in rituals. The couches of the owner and
his wife were on the left side of the entrance, children and
dependants sleeping on the right. These couches were of dried
grass or twigs covered with soft buffalo hides, and at the head,
and often the foot of each were back rests for reclining during
the day. These were flexible triangular supports of willow
stems arranged horizontally, threaded with leather thongs
suspended from a tripod of wood and pegged down at the head
[531] of the couch. Over them soft dressed skins were thrown. Both
[353] the outside of the tipi and the inner curtains were often

251 abundant meat-supply after a successful hunt, there was [224] opportunity to devise means for storing large quantities. After a hunt the store of meat was cut into thin strips and dried in the sun on wooden frames. When dry the meat was slightly roasted, pounded to a mince, mixed with fat and then packed and sealed with a covering of tallow in large bags or parfleches that in later times often contained a hundred pounds each and 262 consumed the meat of two buffaloes. This is the pemmican so well known from the accounts of early explorers and traders. The finest pemmican was made from the choicest cuts pounded and mixed with marrow fat and dried berries. Large stone-[251] lined pits were built near the winter camp in which these food-supplies could be stored, secure from the attacks of carnivores and rodents.

262 While meat was the main food of the Blackfoot and other 222 Plains tribes, wild roots and berries were not neglected, and 462 a considerable variety was gathered by the women during the [361] year. The various harvests often controlled the precise location of the camp. In the spring a valuable root, known as *pomme blanche* to white trappers, was obtained in large quantities with digging sticks. In the country nearest the Rockies the camas bulb, a food staple among the northern Plateau peoples, was obtained in summer. Several kinds of berry and the wild [251] choke-cherry were harvested in the autumn. The surplus was in each case dried and stored or mixed in the pemmican.

Tobacco 249 Although the Blackfoot depended entirely on natural pro-[171] ducts for their food they did, like many other Plains tribes [462] and other hunting peoples, cultivate one plant—tobacco. A plot of ground near the winter camp was cleared and the soil raked over early each spring and the tobacco seeds planted ceremonially by a party of men. The plot was visited occasionally by one or two men during the summer, who had to make long journeys for the purpose and bring back samples of the growing plant. The crop was gathered when the camp returned [276] to winter quarters in the autumn. This tobacco smoked in [324] pipes of soft and easily worked stone played a very important part in Blackfoot and all Plains ceremonial. Although the plant was very hardy and grew with so little care, it had to be sown afresh each year to maintain the supply. The significance of tobacco planting among the Blackfoot and other western peoples in North America is considered later (see p. 255).

Transport The migration of the individual camp groups and of the 484 tribes as a whole involved frequent transport of the entire 342 household. The dwellings and utensils of the Blackfoot were mostly of a light and portable character, but, although they

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342 were few compared with those of a sedentary people, the tipi
492 with its contents formed a large load. The advent of the horse
484 made possible a considerable increase in the weight of the
household property that could be transported and tipis became
larger and more luxurious. But even in pre-horse days the
Indians of the Plains had devised means for transporting a
482 considerable quantity of material. Although heavy burdens
492 were carried on the back, a great deal was transported by the
493 dogs, of which every woman kept two or three or more. Small
484 burdens could be carried in bags slung across their backs, but
they could drag a much greater weight than they could carry,
and for this purpose the Plains peoples used a drag-frame
known as the *travois*—two splayed poles two or three yards

[492]

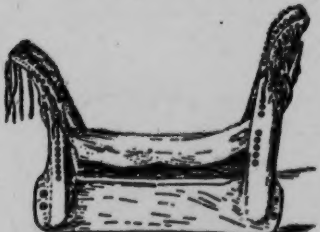

FIG. 22. A BLACKFOOT SADDLE
LENGTH, 34 CM.
(After Wissler)

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493
484 long lashed together—which was harnessed on the shoulders
[482] of the dog, and carried a netted hoop or platform of slats attached to the two poles behind the animal. When the horse was introduced the same device was enlarged to carry much heavier loads. This drag-frame was well suited to the relatively smooth and open country in which the Plains people lived. They had no sleds or toboggans, and the travois appears to be an indigenous development which remained limited to their own culture area. It is probable that it originated with the poles of the tipi itself, and it was frequently improvised from tipi poles in later days, but the Blackfoot also made well-finished travois which could not be taken apart for use as poles.

492 With the introduction of the horse, saddles and trappings
were made. The heavier wooden saddles used mostly by
[177] women followed closely the design of Spanish saddles, of which
they were translations into wood and rawhide, the wooden frame being held rigid by a cover of rawhide, which was shrunk on to it. For the chase men used light pad saddles of soft hide stuffed with hair.

000 on to it. For the chase men used light pad saddles of soft hide
stuffed with hair.

501 Some Plains tribes made coracles of buffalo hide stretched
on willow frames, with paddles to cross deep rivers, but the
Blackfoot contented themselves with improvised rafts of poles
and buffalo hides, which they propelled by swimming whenever
492 they were compelled to take loads across rivers. The difficulty
231 of swimming horses across wide rivers, especially the Missouri,
seems to have had an important effect in retarding the spread
of the horse in the northern Plains, and may in part account
for the fact that the Blackfoot and other northern Plains tribes
appear to have obtained most of their horses, in earlier days,
from the Plateau peoples to the south-west.

Warfare 231 The appearance of the horse not only made the successful
224 hunting of the buffalo far easier: it permitted the increase in
492 size and comfort of the tipi and the amount of household goods
that could be transported. It also fostered, from the very
721 manner of its introduction, a tradition of raiding which came
231 to dominate Plains life in the two centuries of prosperity before
the extinction of the buffalo. The use of these valued 'elk
dogs' spread so rapidly largely because they were continually
being stolen from the horse tribes by those who did not already
possess them. Once acquired there was no strict limit to the
number that could be maintained, for although the winter
feed was poor, there was room for a great increase in numbers.
Thus the acquisition of horses became a main objective of
721 every able-bodied man. But the Indians appear to have
232 acquired very little skill in breeding, and the horse supply
231 was dependent on the capture and taming of those that had
run wild and on those stolen or obtained by barter from
white men. The demand for horses was thus not easily
satisfied, and systematic raiding of the horses of enemy tribes
was the regular method by which young men acquired them.
Horse raiding was the essential basis of Plains Indians' warfare
in the historic period. We have no means of knowing
the conditions in pre-horse days, but although it is by no
means certain that the warlike habits of the Plains Indians
are all of recent development, there can be no doubt that they
721 received an enormous impetus from the appearance of the horse.
[555] The status of an individual depended very largely on his
personal courage as displayed in raids, and elaborate conventions
grew up as to what constituted brave deeds, for which
the French trapper's term *coup*, or blow, has come into use.
[411] The native weapons of the Blackfoot were the sinew backed
[714] bow and arrow and a circular shield of thick rawhide from the
neck of a buffalo hide

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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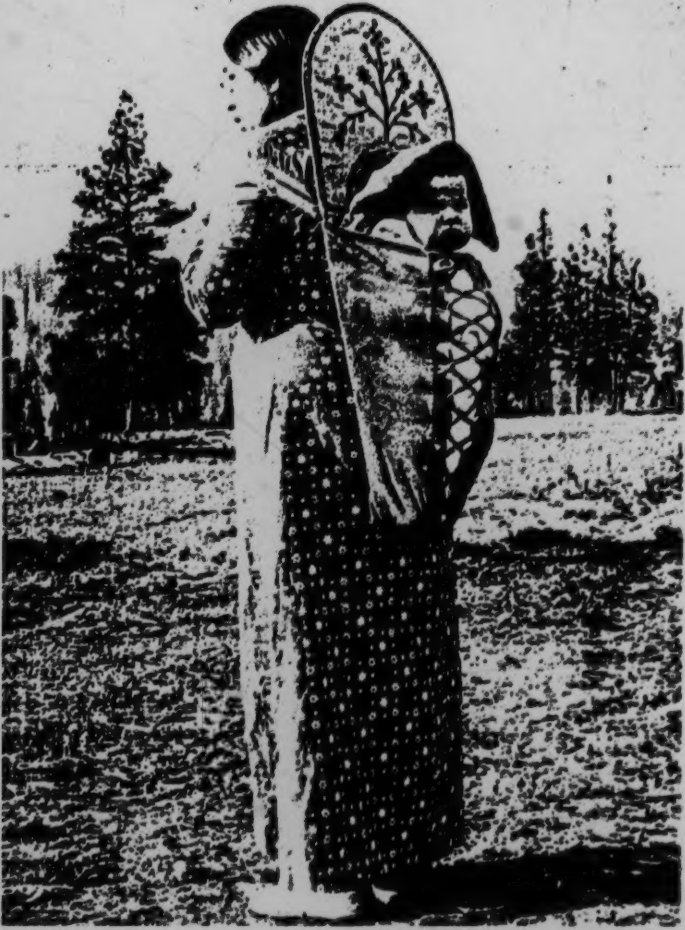

Me and my son Okan in his cradleboard. This is the way my grandmothers usually carried their babies when they had to walk with them. When they rode, they hung that wide shoulder strap over the pommel on their saddle. When they worked outside, they hung the strap from a heavy branch of a tree and their babies rocked in the wind. Around modern homes and towns I find these cradleboards awkward, but I like them for walking or for extra safety when riding in our truck. I once brought Okan to a restaurant and stood his cradleboard up against our table, only to have him fall flat on his face! (PHOTO: ADOLF HUNGRY WOLF)

[492]

[p. 97]

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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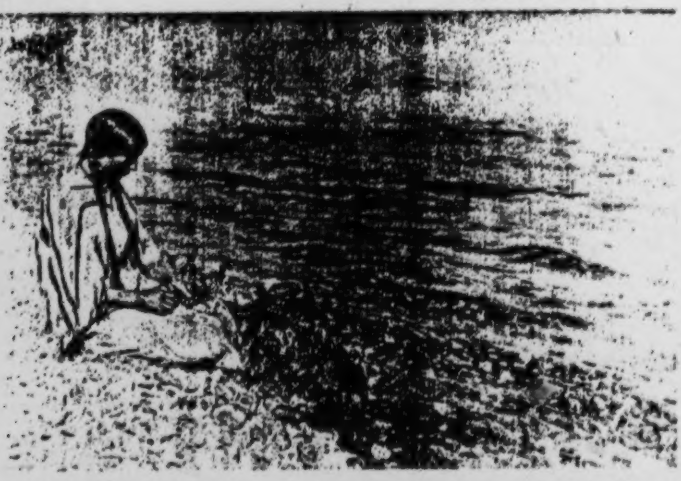
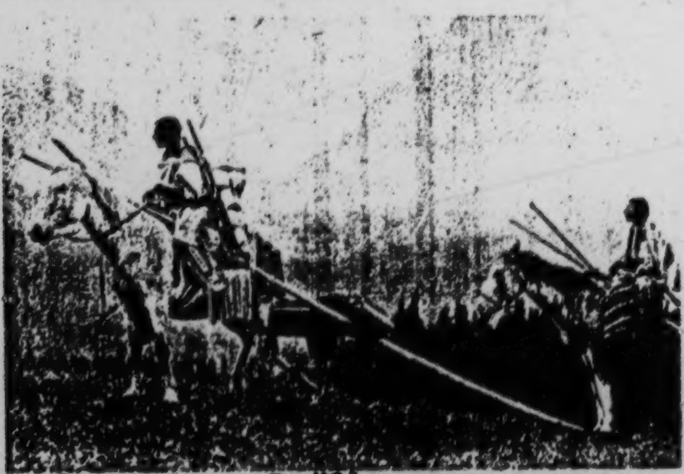


A young Blackfoot woman by the shore of a lake—the way my grandmothers must have sometimes sat and longed for their husbands, gone for weeks or months on the war trails. (PHOTO: COLLECTION OF GOOD MEDICINE FOUNDATION)

● 492 Blackfoot women on the move—the way my grandmothers transported their simple households from one campsite to another. They kept things even more simple in the days before horses, when dogs did the hauling. (PHOTO: COLLECTION OF GOOD MEDICINE FOUNDATION)



[p.180]

768 different nursing mothers so he could get some milk. She
603 would feed him broths at other times and let him suckle on her
own, dry breasts when he got too fussy.

853 My grandfather suckled on his grandmother's breasts so
853 long that milk started coming out of them. This is true, because a number of relatives have told me that all the elders used to talk about it. She was very proud of herself, and showed off her nursing abilities whenever she could.

Generally children were fed nothing but mother's milk for the first three or four months. Their first food was usually a little broth, and they were given bones to suck on. I've heard of kids that were nursed till they were past six years of age. It wasn't unusual for a playing child to run indoors suddenly
[842] and ask to nurse from its mother. Some mothers liked to
nurse their kids long as a form of birth control. But I hear this didn't always work.

854 Babies were kept bundled up most of the time. They were dressed on the upper part of the body while the lower part was packed with soft, dry moss. Then they were wrapped with soft cloth or hide and put inside their moss bag or cradleboard. A moss bag laces all the way up the front so that only the baby's head is exposed. A cradleboard is attached to the back of a moss bag to give it a solid frame, for transporting and to keep the baby better protected. I have used both of these with my kids.

I really like to watch babies when I unlace their moss bags and watch their little arms and legs stretch. They get so used to being in their bags that they often wouldn't sleep unless I laced them up first. This way they are so well padded that I feel very secure in handling them. I have always been told that babies are not strong enough to be held all the time unless they are well wrapped, like this.

Cradleboards were almost essential back in the days when
[492] my grandmothers did all their traveling by horseback. The
strap on the back of the cradleboard was hooked over the high horn on the traditional-style woman's saddle.

854 carefully fitted pieces of buckskin. The piece for the large headboard was often partly or fully beaded first. The baby is firmly laced into an oblong bag that forms part of the buckskin covering. It has a small hood that is laced snug to the baby's face, to protect it from cold and wind, as well as from insects.

Variations in cradleboards were common. Some had an interior lining of fur. Some had decorated aprons that hung down the front and covered the baby bag's lacings. Some had long strands of beads and shells hanging down, to amuse the baby with their movements and jingling sounds. In later years some cradleboards were covered with cloth instead of buckskin.

[482] Such cradleboards have sturdy straps tied to their backs, from the left side to the right side, by which a mother could carry them on her back, with the strap across the shoulders. [492] The cradleboards were also hung by these straps from the pommels of the mothers' saddles, when they were riding. If they were working outside, the cradleboards were often hung from sturdy branches in nearby trees. If a breeze was blowing, it helped to bounce the cradleboard and rock the baby to sleep.

I have used such a cradleboard for my kids, as well as the simpler and smaller moss bags. These are the baby bags that form the main part of the whole cradleboards. I have found both of these to be very helpful in caring for my babies, although the cradleboard would probably be awkward for use in town or a city. I don't know why my grandmothers never made their cradleboards with a curved face protector like many other tribes used. This piece looks like a roll bar in a race car, and could be very important if a cradleboard is being used around hard floors. Twice my kids have fallen on their faces because there was no such protection, and both times were pretty hard on my mind until I was sure that no injury had happened.

hunting and camping sites. The bands camped together only during the Medicine Lodge ceremony. But in 1892, although the people still lived with their own bands, they were not separated by such great distances as before. Each band had a traditional place where its members put up their tipis and tents. Their place was left unoccupied whether the members of the band arrived late or not at all. 619 628 [796] [361]

The Bloods were made up of ten or twelve bands at any one time. The number of bands varied because people were free to leave a band if they disagreed with its chief or if they preferred to follow the chief of another band. Some of the larger bands had more than one chief. 621 619

Let me tell you the names of some of the bands that existed around the turn of the century and the names of some band chiefs. The Lone Fighters were led jointly by One Spot and Heavy Shield, and later solely by Running Wolf. The Fish Eaters were led by Crop-Eared Wolf, and later by Many White Horses. This was the band of Blood's tribal head chief, Red Crow, and his family. The Bite-Throats were led by Low Horn. The Followers of Buffalo were led by Bull Horn; the Black Elks, by Bull Shield; the Many Children, by Young Pine; the Skinny People, by Running Antelope; and the Many Tumors, by Strangling Wolf. 101 621 622

Many of the People still used travois to haul their belongings to the 1892 camp. Others came in wagons, while a few in their slim-wheeled buggies challenged the rocks and holes lining the pathways to camp. The travois consisted of two tipi poles tied together near the end attached to the horse, with the untied ends spread apart to drag on the ground behind the horse. Padding was placed where the poles crossed, for they rested on the horse's shoulders. Crosspieces, tied to the poles near where they dragged, provided a frame on which the family could tie their belongings. Small items were rolled between tipi covers and fur robes, while larger bags were either tied to 493 492●

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Blood

the outside of the main bundle or slung over the 493
horse's back. Sacred Bundles were carried only on 492 ●
a special horse and travois. Usually no one but the
Bundle's Owner could ride such a horse. Nor was [778]
that horse used to carry meat. This was to keep
the Spirit of the animal pure and clean for its [784]
holy duties.

The seven vowing Okan women and their 796
families were among the first to arrive at the 346
camp circle. They pitched their tipis closer to the
center of the circle than the others. Cottonwood [361]
boughs were piled up outside against the base of [824]
their tipis. In this way, people would know that
these tipis were sitting holy and should not be
disturbed. The green leaves hiding the bottoms of
the tipis of these holy women served as spiritual
guards for those who were within. Children were
taught not to play nearby, lest they disturb the
holy thoughts inside.

Dried tongue is the meal of communion dur- 796
ing the Medicine Lodge ceremony. One hundred 262
tongues must be dried and prepared beforehand 251
in the spring so that everyone in the camp can
share in this communion. The tongues, symbols [776]
of the natural foods of the buffalo as well as the
main foods of our People, represent the Spirits of
buffalo.

Traditionally, buffalo tongues were brought
to the vowing holy woman by generous hunters.
With the help of her family, she dried and stored [793]
them in preparation for the holy ceremony. But by [178]
1892, beef had replaced buffalo in the diets of our
People, so beef tongues were used instead. (The 136
last buffalo killed by our People—around the year

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24A]

21: Hungry Wolf   F-4,5   (ca. 1972) 1977   NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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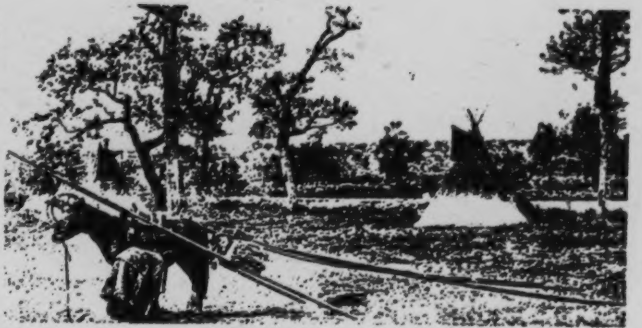

A travois at a Blood camp along the Belly River in 1887. The woman's tipi cover is packed on her travois, and her lodge poles are fastened to the top of the cover. (Bourne & May)

[p.23-B]

It was a serenade song. The voices came closer, 533
passing by our part of the camp circle. The [492]
singers, four young men riding on three horses
(two of the singers doubling up on one horse),
ended one song with short, jovial shouts, and began another.

This was a treat to hear, as most young [178]
people today don't know the old serenade songs
from the past. Long ago, several groups of sere- [361]
nade singers would go around the camp circle
every night, in the days when camp circles had a
circumference of a mile or more. Young people [534]
would tie strings of sleigh bells to their horses to
add background music to their singing. Groups of [492]
young men usually sang together, sometimes
doubling up on one horse. Married couples often
rode the same way. Single men would ride alone,
singing love songs with code words so that their
sweethearts, bound by tradition to stay inside at
night, would know the songs were for them.

The young men singing on this night contin-
ued until morning. Blankets drawn over their [291]
heads protected them against the wind. In between songs they talked and laughed quietly. During the night I woke up, and heard them still singing, talking, laughing, and their horses' hooves thudding.

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came a famous winner. He warned anyone who 231
came near the horse that no Medicine must ever
be used on it, nor must it ever be ridden double.
One weekend Bird Rattler let his brother Running 231
Rattling take Apistokinii to a nearby race. 593
Many good horses were participating, and Running
Rattling became worried about the strong [426]
competition. So he asked a Medicine Man known [541]
for his successful Powers with horses to give some
of his Power to Apistokinii. The Medicine Man [789]
did, and Apistokinii won the race. That evening
Running Rattling rode the horse back home in
the company of a friend. When the friend's horse [492]●
stepped on a sharp stone and went lame, Running
Rattling invited him to ride double. Not long
after, they came to a narrow ravine. Running Rattling
urged Apistokinii forward to jump over it.
Burdened with two riders, Apistokinii did not
complete the leap fully. His hind legs slipped
back down the embankment, breaking both hips.
Apistokinii sat, unable to rise. Running Rattling
walked home the rest of the way greatly worried.
He went to bed and said nothing until the next
morning. Bird Rattler was quite saddened when
he was told what happened. He took his rifle and
shot Apistokinii, then covered him with his finest
Hudson's Bay blanket. It was not until much later
that he discovered his brother had disobeyed his
orders.

Bird Rattler's last raid did not end as well as 721
his others. On returning to camp with newly stolen 648
Crow horses, he and his partners, Weasel Tail and Black Looking, were arrested by Mounted Police. They were put in ball and chains in the guardhouse at Fort MacLeod. Managing to escape, they fled south to their relatives among the South Piegans of Montana. Weasel Tail and Black Looking returned to live in Canada, years later, after the incident had been officially forgotten. Bird Rattler stayed in Montana to become a successful farmer, an honorable tribal judge, and Keeper of the Piegan's sacred Circle Dance Medicine Pipe Bundle until his death in 1939.

[p.66]

taken north and now it is a white man's Pipe. 778
But my old Pipe, it has a lot of Spirits; I'm sure [776]
that it hears me talking about it right now.

That Pipe belonged to me two times. The first 778
time it was transferred to me. The second time, 425
it was returned to me after the death of the person I transferred it to. We went to his mother [old Mrs. Day Rider] to pay our respects. She is a relative of ours. Mrs. Day Rider came over and
kissed me, and she was crying. She said, "Oki, [768]
Big Snake, go get your Pipe. You don't have to pay on it, just get painted for it again." I didn't say anything. I just looked at her. My brothers, Jack and Jim Low Horn, they told me, "Why aren't you talking? It's your Pipe. Take it. It won't be good for it to be around a sad place."

After the funeral I went to her house. She was walking outside, crying. She just pointed to the house. I went inside and I hugged my Pipe. I told it that a sad thing happened to it because its Owner died. I took it and started home. That's why I had it a second time.

THE LONG-TIME PIPE

Some of our People think that the Long-Time 778
Pipe was in the Bundle originally given by Thunder. 793
They call the Long-Time Medicine Pipe
Mesam-Achkuineman. Our People hold that [622]
Bundle in special reverence; its Owners are often chiefs.

The earliest-known Owner of the Long-Time Pipe was Grey Broad Head. He was remembered by a much later Owner, Stephen Fox, who died not long ago near the age of one hundred. Stephen Fox was still a young man when he met Grey Broad Head, who was then about one hundred himself.
This man attributed his old age to [888]
the Power he got while keeping the Long-Time Pipe.
He told Stephen Fox that his payments for [435]
the Pipe included fifty dogs. That was back when
our People relied on dogs for help in moving [492]
camp and packing meat. [231]

use. Buffalo and deer were hunted for meat, /82
hides, and other parts. Fur-bearing animals were 825
hunted and trapped with snares and deadfalls for 224
their skins, which were used for clothing and sa- /78
cred articles. They were seldom eaten. Animals [262]
and birds that spent most or all of their time in
water were almost never eaten. Spiritually, they [772]
were thought to belong to the *SoyeTuppi*, the
Underwater People. Fish were never eaten, except [262]
by a few. Before entering any body of water, most [782]
people gave an offering of tobacco or beads in
recognition of the Powers of Water.

Even back when our People lived in harmony
with nature, it could not be said that they never
wasted anything. A spiritual person offered to Sun [782]
whatever he could not use of his kill. Men on war
parties often shot buffalo for food, but could not
eat or take back home most of the animal. When [224]
our People drove buffalo over cliffs, the ancient
manner of hunting that was used until around
1850, they killed many more buffalo than neces-
sary. About that time, buffalo were killed more
for their hides than for food. Even our own [439]
People began trading buffalo hides and furs they
had trapped for goods at the trading post. Thus
began the end of our way of life.

Compiling the following list of Indian names /28
and identifying their meanings was difficult, as [197]
the Blackfoot language has changed a great deal
since the Old Days. Word definitions varied depending on precisely how a person was taught to use the word. In each case I have chosen the definition most often given, or the Old Man's definition.

DOG: *Imitai*; its meaning has been lost. Before 231
horses, dogs were used to pack loads and 825
move camps. The dog of the Old Days [492]●
looked like a large gray wolf and could drag
up to seventy-five pounds on a travois. The average family had about twelve dogs; there were several hundred in a camp. At times they could be quite unmanageable; they

would fight, chase wild animals, or run into 231
water, even when loaded with packs and 825
travois.

HORSE: The first horses our Old People saw
resembled elks but were used like dogs. Thus
the name *ponokamitai*, or "elk dog." Horses [439]
first came to the Bloods from neighboring
tribes sometime around 1750, before the
Bloods had seen their first white man. By a [178]
century later, our People's whole way of life
had changed. By then they owned about
eight horses per lodge. Our head chief, Pinukwiim,
owned about a hundred horses before
his death in 1870. Many horse-poor people [492]
borrowed some from the chief to pack their
belongings whenever camp was moved.

The original horse we used was known as the "Indian pony." It is now almost extinct due to the government's efforts to interbreed it with the larger "white man's horses," more practical for farm and ranch use. Compared with today's horses, the old pony was smaller and better suited for rough traveling, requiring little food and water.

Horses, like dogs, were eaten only in [261]
times of great hunger. Their hides were popular [237]
for drumheads.

BUFFALO: *Einiua*, the most important source [534]
of food for our Old People. The name is said 825
to refer to the animal's black horns. Spiritually,
buffalo are still very important, although
their scarcity has made it necessary to
substitute beef in most ceremonies. Hides
and dried meat, however, are occasionally
available.

ELK: *Ponokau* refers to the animal's long legs. Elk were so commonplace in the Old Days, our Old People easily hunted them whenever buffalo herds could not be found. All parts of the elk were used.

Tanned elk hides made robes that holy 292
women wore throughout the hot summer 237
days of the Medicine Lodge ceremony.

scream; it was also known as *suapit*, or 825
"fringes on the legs."

LYNX: *Sok-atayo*, or "heavy bobcat."

MOUNTAIN LION: *Omachk-atayo*, or "big bobcat."

KIT FOX: *Sinopah*, which means something like "he has arrows"; it suggests the fox's ability to strike swiftly and unexpectedly.

RED FOX: *Otatoye*; means something like "dis- [782]
tant Medicine robe," referring to the ancient custom of using a red fox skin in place of cloth when making an offering to Sun.

WOLVERINE: *Issistsi*; means either "claws shaped like hooves" or "carrying its young."

FISHER: *Pinutuye*; refers to the way the hair on its tail stands straight out, as though it had been clipped.

OTTER: *Emonissi*; refers to the way it slides around and is difficult to approach when it is on land.

BEAVER: *Ksisstukki*; means something like
"cutting trees with his teeth." Beaver skins [237]
are tanned, complete with tails; the fat is
removed and the tails are stuffed with [281]
crushed perfume plants and sewn shut.
Beaver skins were commonly worn for winter [291]
clothing, especially leggings, with the hair
outside to repel snow and water. Large [492]
beaver skins made popular saddle blankets.
Some people made necklaces with the front [301]
teeth, and the claws from the hind feet were [237]
strung as wristlets. Beaver bile was placed on
wounds that would not heal. Beaver castor [752]
made a popular perfume, among our People [303]
as well as many others.

MUSKRAT: *Misochpski*, or "hard-puffed face."

MARTEN: *Asinnatuye*, which means something like "young cropped tail" or "young fisher."

WEASEL: *Otao* is the summer weasel, referring to its brown coat. The winter weasel, or ermine, is called *Apao*, referring to its white coat. The winter skin is symbolic of life and

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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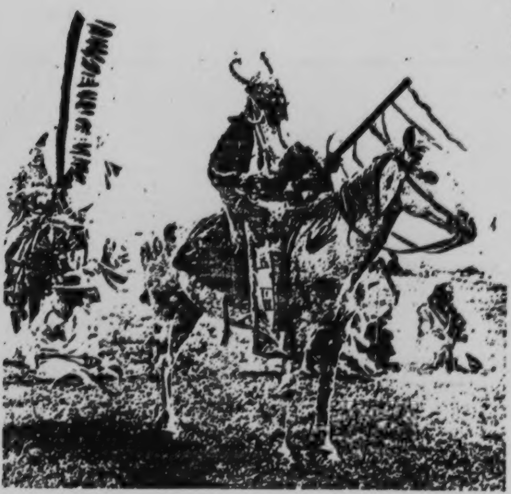

Mountain Horse, leader of the Crow Carriers Society, dressed for battle. He wears a Medicine headdress, as well as a weasel-tail suit of shirt and leggings. Each of these articles was transferred ceremonially. Symbols of scalps he has taken are tied to his rifle. The hand on his horse represents an enemy he killed in a hand-to-hand encounter; the two large spots represent places where horses he was riding were shot in battle. On the horse behind him is old Bumble Bee, who is holding a staff of the Crow Carrier's Society. Bumble Bee enlisted in the armed forces at the same time as did several of Mountain Horse's sons. However, he could speak no English and refused to cut his hair, so he was sent back home. Before he left he is said to have told the other Blood soldiers: "Don't be foolish like these white soldiers. They call off the war every day at mealtime. You boys want to keep on shooting, even if you see them sitting down to eat." (Glenbow Archives)

[422]
[796]
[703]
[177]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

person on the reserve to let the cattle graze there. 159
This practice began when Eagle Bear accepted [657]
the first four-dollar payment. That was in the year [427]
number 1904 when I was born. Small Priest [the
People's name for Father Dusette] baptized me, 951
but he didn't give me a name. I don't know why 551
I wasn't called after my father, Dog Child. When 553
I was not many days old, I was called First Rid. 159
and I grew up with that name.

When I was a little bit old-personlike [when 868
first active as a child], my father taught me to 492
ride. This was during the number four winter of 159
my life. There was still a lot of horseback riding
then and a lot of travois for transportation. Very
few had slim-wheelers [buggies]. I was tied on a
horse, and the horse was tied to a picket. Some-
times I used to go to sleep on the horse. My [237]
mother made a pad saddle out of blue jeans and
stuffed with big-head fur [sheep's wool]. There
were stirrups at that time; I used to see them,
they were made of wood. But my stirrups were
rawhide thongs, which fit my young feet better.

I grew up in the land of the Men with Many 411
Wives [Cardston, Alberta, is a Mormon town]. 159
My father was a hunter and he had many rifles;
a slim-gum-arrow [.30/30 caliber]; a double-bar-
relled hunting gun; also a Number 22, called a
gopher rifle. And he was one of the first to own
a Number 303 rifle [.303 caliber]. He set traps for [224]
coyote, beaver, and muskrat.

My father made me eat all kinds of deer. The 262
People of the long-ago liked to eat the part of 159
the mother animal that the baby animal sucked
on. The only thing they didn't eat is the milk of [272]
the big white heads [mountain sheep]. I heard
that this milk is very bitter. 159

When I killed an elk, my father showed me 869
they have seven nest lumps [nipples], not four or [825]
six or eight. He showed me that badgers have
blood clots on their ribs. We sprinkled gun [787]
powder on the badger's blood and from looking
at our reflection in the blood we knew how long
we were going to live. My father saw from his

[p.232-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Young Pine in his minor chief's outfit, around 1915. (Joe Young Pine Collection)

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the treaty. By morning we had walked some ways 726
past where Magrath now stands. We only had [685]
two horses along with us. Young Pine and Prairie [648]
Chicken Old Man rode double on a roan while [648]
Calf Robe and Crazy Crow rode on a bay. I [492]

[p.289-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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● 492

[237]
[439]
Three old women at Fort MacLeod in 1924. On the left is Double Victory Woman, mother of John Cotton. She holds a staff with hooves and bells attached. In her other hand is a horsetail switch. The woman in the center is Heavy Face, mother of Jim White Bull. She holds a stone hammer for pounding berries and dried meat. On the right is Takes-a-Man, who was then the widow of White Calf. On her dog's travois is a hide scraper made of bone and a small kettle of the kind that was obtained from traders. Black Looking is the man on the horse. (Glenbow Archives)

291

PORTRAITS OF PEOPLE FROM THE PAST

Mean Bandolier, or "Minnie," as Wilson called his adopted brother. (R. N. Wilson)

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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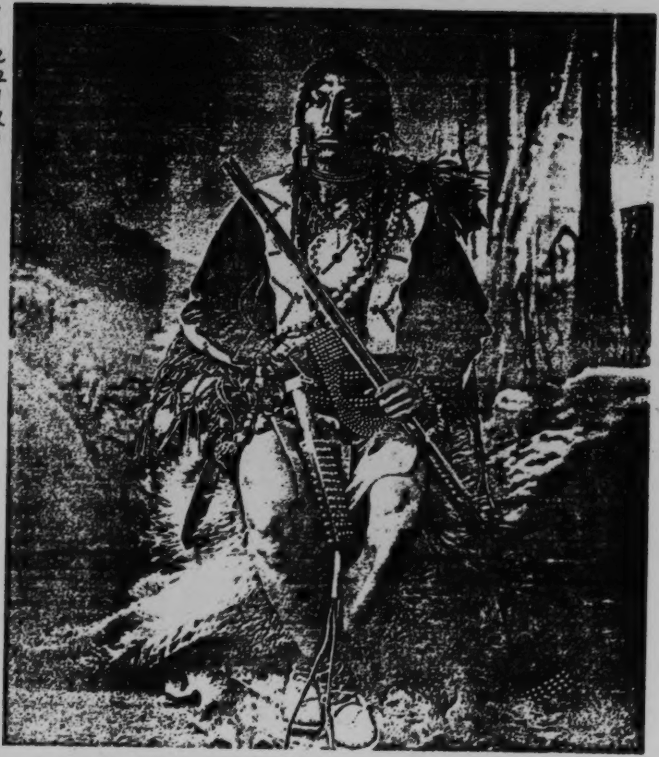

[778]
[714]

An unidentified but typical Blood warrior around 1885, at the end of the war days. His fine flintlock rifle is decorated with brass tacks, as is his horse whip, which doubled as a war club, his wide belt, and the large knife case in front. His war Medicine consists of a bandolier made of large seeds to which is attached a bunch of hawk and owl feathers. (Ernest Brown)

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

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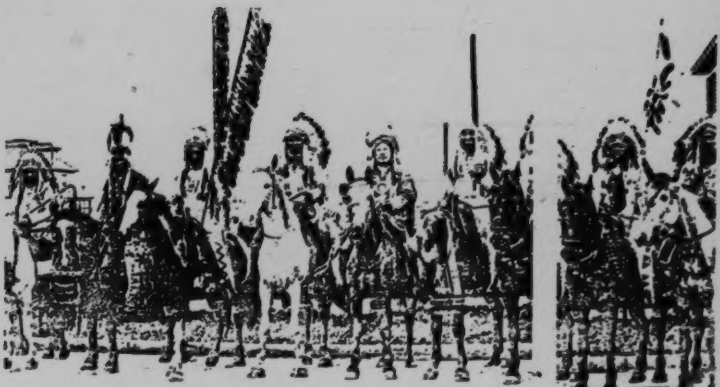

BLOOD WARRIORS AT THE FIRST CALGARY STAMPEDE IN THE YEAR 1912 From left to right: Duck Chief, a North Blackfoot; Heavy Head, with some kind of war Medicine tied beneath his horse's chin; Bob Riding Black Horses, with a long coup stick (although I have not heard of any coups he got); Cross Child; unknown; Gets Wood at Night, who was a doctor; Joe Healy, or Flying Chief; Antelope Whistler with a bone necklace around his horse; Black

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Opposite page: Three Guns, again; then Weasel Tail with a gun case and coup stick; then Calf Robe, with his famous pinto horse replica, which was reclaimed by the Crows. Riding double on the next horse is Black Plume, with a Medicine Shield, and Mike Oka. Next to them is a North Piegan minor chief, Tom Scott, an interpreter; and the Rev. John McDougall. Calf Robe is the only one riding without a saddle or bridle and bit.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Looking with a shield; and Weasel Fat; Ghost Chief with a blanket coat. Red Beads is next, with a coup stick. Running Antelope, a minor chief, holds a spear. Natosina has on his favorite buckskin shirt, which is now in some museum in the States. He has an eagle plume on top of his black hat, perhaps to symbolize his other name. Next to him is Three Guns in a horned Medicine headdress.

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[p315]

000 And after a little: "How terribly handicapped we soldiers are in this kind of work. Conspicuously clothed and mounted, we ride about in close formation for these war parties to see us from afar, and so avoid us. Small chance that we can ever meet up with one of them, red-handed from an attack upon a freighting outfit. How I would like to go after them with a party of men of your experience. I am sure that with some of your hunting and trapping friends you would soon make this road safe for the travel on it."

"Yes, maybe we could," Kipp modestly replied.

We had not many horses, only a four-horse wagon team, a dozen
439 saddle horses, including two fast, well-trained buffalo horses, one
492 of them mine. For transporting our buffalo robes, furs, hides, and
trade goods we had a large bull train, three teams of eight yokes of
493 bulls (steers), and two wagons each. Long John Forgy was our
000 wagon boss; and Kipp's brothers-in-law, Takes-Gun-at-Night, Red Eyes, and Comes-with-Rattles, our bullwhackers. All three were young Pikuni men of not more than twenty years. At this time the train was not in use, the bulls grazing at will in the next river bottom below the fort. The horses were kept in the corral at night, and at sunrise were turned out to graze.

As Lieutenant Beacom and his men had to use their saddle horses daily, they were turned out with the pack mules to graze of nights, with chain and leather hobbles, and herded by two shifts of men, the first one until midnight, the other one until daybreak, when they were unhobbled and driven in to camp.

Came a rainy, winter night and, early in the morning, someone pounded on the door of our office, in which I slept. I sprang out of bed and let him in, Lieutenant Beacom, all out of breath and dripping wet. He sank down in a chair before the fireless stove and gasped:

"I must see Kipp. Show me where he sleeps. Better still, will you please awaken him and ask him to come in here?"

I dressed, threw a slicker over my shoulders, ran across the court and into Kipp's quarters, found him up and building a fire in the cookstove.

River, the latter on Bow River. A few lodges of the Pikunis were 361
camping near us and subsisting on antelope still plentiful in that 131
part of the country. In the previous winter Kipp had camp traded [439]
with the Pikunis in the Bear Paw Mountains (Little Rockies) with
fair success, and now, in August, came White Calf, Little Dog, Running
Crane, Little Plume, and other prominent ones of the Pikunis
to plan with him for the coming winter hunt and trade. Some were
for going again to the Bear Paw country; others suggested the Cypress
Hills; but most were in favor of wintering on Judith River, as
a war party of Pikunis, recently returned from a raid upon the Crows,
had reported plenty of buffalo from Arrow Creek to the Judith,
and south of it to the Yellowstone. So, after long talk, interspersed 361
with many rounds of the big stone bowl, the long-stemmed council 131
pipe, it was decided that Kipp should build a trading post on *Otokwi* 439
Tuktai (Yellow River, the Judith)at the mouth of *Kaksimi Tuktai* [276]
(Sage Creek, as the whites had also named it), and that the tribe
would winter near it and trade only with him. Also, the chiefs readily
agreed to Kipp's proposal that this Yellow River post should be
a dry, no-whisky, trading post.

Kipp had a bull train--three eight-yoke teams and six wagons; [492]
Long John Forgy, wagon boss--that was freighting profitably between
Fort Benton and Helena and Fort Macleod, so he decided
not to use it in this new undertaking. Thus, leaving our womenfolks
to winter at Fort Conrad, Hiram Upham in charge of it, on a day
late in August we set out with five four-horse teams and wagons for
the Judith. Two of the teamsters were half-brothers of Kipp's wife, 114
and Dick Kipp and Billy Upham were along. Yes, and good, brave
Crow Woman and her handsome adopted daughter of sixteen, Flag
Woman, came along to cook for us. And Frank Pearson's wife made
such a howl about being separated from him that she came, too.

In those days, the itinerant fur traders were known either as I. G. 443
Baker & Company men or T. C. Power & Brother men, according 439
to which one of the firms they favored. Kipp was one of the former
kind, so at I. G. Baker & Company's store in Fort Benton we loaded
our wagons with trade goods and various necessities for cabins and
kitchen. Then, reinforced by Politte Pepion and his four-horse 000

of the young herders. The third one, escaping from them, hurried 721
into camp, shouting that a war party of Entrails People had killed 648
two of his friends. Butterfly was then our head chief. He thought that the young man was crazy. Our close friends, the Entrails People, would never attack us, he said.

"But I recognized two of the killers. I know not their names, but I have often seen them in their camp, and visiting in our camp," the young man cried.

Yelled Butterfly: "Well, whoever they are, we have to take after 726
them. Hurry, you fighters, saddle your horses, take up your guns and we go."

Those who had already brought in their horses were soon ready [701]
to go, and off they rode, a hundred and more of them, Butterfly in the lead, and they were not long in overtaking some of the Entrails party, for their horses were tired. They killed five of them, the rest 727
leaving their horses and escaping in heavy timber. They examined 648
their kills; found that they really were Entrails People; even knew the names of two of them, and Butterfly sadly said: "So ends our long friendship with the Entrails People. From now on they are as much our enemies as are the tribes of the Parted Hairs (Sioux). Too bad! Too bad!"

On that day and for long afterward our Pikuni camp was sad. We mourned the passing of our two young men, and some of our women even cried over the ending of their close friendship with women of the Entrails People. Yes, for a long time there was no happy singing, drumming, story-telling around our evening lodge fires. At that time a great warrior was Red Plume, chief of our Raven Carriers society. Said he one day, as its members were gathered in his lodge: "Well, 648
as the Entrails People are now our enemies, we must make them to [721]
cry. Two nights hence I am starting to raid their camps on Bear [726]
River. Go with me, those of you who are minded." [701]

They were about a hundred who set out with him, and they went [492]
afoot, vowing that they would return riding horses of the Entrails People. They did not find the camp of the enemy on Bear Creek. As 000
was later proven, they had left the stream, never to return to it. From that time on they camped and hunted in and around the Wolf Moun-

224 of its many streams and constantly depended upon them for their
173 living.

173 Then, we know not how long ago it was, a war party of the
177 Pikunis, traveling into the far south, the Always-Summer-Land,
492 made a very strange discovery, so very strange that they could hardly
[484] believe what they saw: enemies of some kind were riding animals
(horses) as big as elk and leading others packed with their belongings.
Said the leader of the party: "Elk-dogs! That is what those
721 strange animals are. My friends, we must have some of them."

492 Came night. Waiting until the enemies were asleep, the Pikuni
177 war party went to their camp, took many of the strange, useful
173 animals, and in time got safely back to their far-north people with
[484] them. At once war parties of all three of the tribes began going to
Always-Summer-Land to obtain some of the elk-dogs. They took
177 them from different Indian tribes and from a different kind of white
173 men living there. Also, from some of those men that they killed they
got strange weapons: very long big-knives (swords); long, iron,
[764] pointed spears; and iron shirts (shirts of mail). No doubt you remember
that our friend Curly Bear, who died not long ago, had
one of them that was taken by one of his far-back ancestors, and that
it was buried with him. Well, the time came when our three tribes
had so many elk-dogs that they no longer went into the Always-Summer-Land
for more of them.

224 Our far-back fathers soon found that nothing was so exciting, so
492 satisfying as the running of a herd of buffalo with a fast, well-trained
173 elk-dog. With a good bow, a quiver of arrows, and such a horse, a
177 hunter could often select and kill ten or twelve fat cows in a single
run. So was it that *piskans* were not used so much for obtaining plentiful
supplies of meat and hides. Still, used they were, for, as some
of the wise, old, Sun's men said, it was not right to let old and sacred
customs die.

224 A favorite *piskan* of our Pikuni tribe was the one on the south side of Milk (Teton) River and just below Old Man Lying Butte (on Teton River, nine miles above Choteau, Montana, U.S. Highway 89). When I was in my eighth summer (approximately 1843), we Pikunis moved from Two Medicine Lodges River to camp, for my

31: Schaeffer E,G-4,5 (1950) 1978
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

THE BLACKFEET DRIVE

Among the Blackfeet, the bison drive was 224
a communal enterprise, carried on by members 621
of a band. I found no indication of band
ownership, however. Certain bands probably [423]
returned to particular drive sites each year as long as these were productive, but there seems to have been no prohibition against employing others when the need arose.

According to my informants, the season of 224
drive use was predominantly autumn. The 221
animals were in the best condition then, the 182
hides were heaviest for winter robes, and the weather was sufficiently cool to permit processing of the meat. In contrast, summer bison were leaner, and the hides thinner. The hides were suitable for making lodge covers during winter and summer.

There were certain natural signs which 224
indicated to the Blackfeet that the drive 824
season was at hand. One of these was the
growth of buffalo grass to a certain height. 221
When this was observed, the hunters knew that it was time to start the drives.

I would like to mention here the best 114
historical references to the Blackfeet drive. George Bird Grinnell (1908) produced what I consider the best generalized account of the drive. Clark Wissler (1910) summarized most of the Blackfeet material and compared it with the practices of adjacent tribes. A few years ago, John C. Ewers obtained information from elderly Blackfeet of their last drive on horseback (Ewers 1949).

Much of my information on the drive will 128
probably not be of immediate use to archaeologists. However, I would like to describe the drive procedure and try to give you some feeling of the excitement, suspense, and danger it must have held for its
participants. The origin and early history of 224
the drive are problems for the archaeologist, but I would like to distinguish several periods of hunting methods:

1. the drive on foot employed in the prehorse period;
2. the drive aided by the use of the [492] ●
horse-mounted runner, which continued until
about a century ago; and [175]
3. pursuit by groups of mounted hunters, [036]
until extermination of the bison (1883-1884).

[p.244-A]

Often, he wore a disguise that consisted of a 224
buffalo robe and head mask; thus costumed,
he would act as a decoy. At other times, he
would be disguised as an antelope.

Traditions about some of the more 173
renowned runners have come down among 224
the Blackfeet. Perhaps the most skilled known
to us was Red Antelope. He seems to have [175]
been an actual individual who lived probably
about the time of the introduction of the
horse, i.e., ca. A.D. 1760. An indication of
when he lived is provided by the text of some
songs that have been handed down. His spiri- [825]
tual powers as a runner were derived from the
antelope and the falcon. His shirt and leggings [292]
were made of antelope hide and decorated
with red ochre. In addition, he wore a disguise [237]
made from the head of an antelope, and he [293]
carried rattles made of antelope hooves. Red
Antelope took particular care of his outfit, [824]
rolling it up with sweetgrass after use and
depositing it in a secret place some distance
away to avoid contamination by camp odors.
Here again, we have an emphasis upon [827]
human odor-free conditions. His parapher-
nalia descended among members of the Small
Robes band, and his rattles are said to have
disappeared only recently. Some of the [171]
elements enumerated above are reminiscent
of Shoshoni practices. The Blackfeet drive
complex may, in fact, have been influenced
by certain traits from the Great Basin.

We can return once more to the runner we 224
left earlier at the gathering area. The
gathering area often included a lake at which
bison were accustomed to drink. Back at 224
camp, dogs had been muzzled and tied up so 231
that they would not alarm the herd during the
crucial period to follow. Sometimes, it was
said, a dog was restrained by tying it to a
block of wood. (Archaeologists coming
across a piece of tree trunk for which they
cannot account, might consider it in this
context.) Dogs at that time, we must 231
remember, were an important part of Black- 492
feet life, inasmuch as they were the beasts of
burden. Later, of course, the horse would be
introduced to displace dogs in this capacity.

The runner's task was to locate a herd, 224
start it up, and put it into motion toward the
drive lane. If bison were plentiful, the first part
was relatively easy. If not, it might be
necessary for the runner to continue for a
considerable distance. Thereafter, the second

[p 246-A]

HUNTING BUFFALO

224 The usual manner of hunting buffalo was by making
pens at the edge of a precipice and driving the animals
over, sometimes killing them by hundreds and even thou-
[492] sands. The Indians were very expert in driving them long
distances to the pens by means of mounted warriors. The
Blackfeet had possessed horses as far back as their tradi-
tions extended but never in considerable numbers in early
times, and even as late as 1833 they were poorly mounted.
[411] They hunted deer, elk, antelope and other game by stalk-
ing, killing them with arrows, but depending almost entirely
on buffalo and seldom sought other game.

BOWS AND ARROWS

411 Their bows were made of ash wood, bone, sometimes of
[322] the horn of the elk and bighorn, bound with sinew. Their
[321] arrows were pointed with flint, the shaft being made of the
[237] limbs of the wild cherry, feathered in three rows. These
[824] arrows were discharged with great force and precision. In
[276] 1833, there were only about one gun, an axe, a kettle and
ten knives to a lodge. Tobacco was extremely precious and
eagerly sought.

ORNAMENTS

301 When Major Culbertson first saw the Blackfeet they possessed but few ornaments and these were small shells worn in the ears and on the clothes.

CLOTHES

294 The dress of men and women was made entirely of the dressed skins of animals, the Indians at that time possessing no woolen or cotton cloth.

KETTLES

415 They made in early times a sort of rude kettle of
323 moistened clay, shaped with the hands, dried in the sun and
then burned in the fire. These kettles ordinarily held about
two (2) gallons and were of cylindrical shape and usually
[177] of greater breadth than depth. These were replaced by
[439] vessels of tin, brass, copper and iron as fast as they were

415
323
[177]
able to buy them of the traders and they are no longer manufactured. It is doubtful whether a single specimen has been preserved to the present day.

[439]

KNIVES

412
324
Their knives were made of flint, wrought into shape by a laborious process.

WATER VESSELS

415
237
Their water vessels were made of the paunch of animals, usually the buffalo.

BOATS

501
[396]
[481]
The Blackfeet never made boats of any description, any account to the contrary being erroneous. In crossing streams they made a kind of float from the skin covering of their lodges, upon or within which their effects were placed, men, women and children swimming, the warriors
● [492]
towing the floats by a cord held in the mouth. Such horses as were fit for that service were also made to do duty in
[481]
transporting their riders. By these means a village of 500 lodges would cross a considerable stream within an hour's time.

WAR CLUB, LANCE

411
[177]
[439]
The Blackfeet used a war club of wood. They had no lances until they were introduced among them by the white traders.

VEGETABLE FOOD

262
Their only vegetable food was such as grew wild in their country, consisting principally of a wild turnip, choke cherries, currants, gooseberries, strawberries, bull berries and a bitter white berry that grows upon the red willow; of the latter they were very fond. Service berries were the most common and most esteemed.

SHIELDS

714
[281]
[237]
Their shields were made of buffalo hide, about half an inch thick, by a long and tedious process rendering them as hard as bone, so that they would turn an arrow and

000 with red horse hair streamers. The best war bonnets were very gaudy, often handsome, and were esteemed in value equal to a horse.

Horse Decorations

237 On occasions of ceremony the horses were ornamented
231 with dashes of paint on the face and body and with feathers
fastened to the mane and tail, sometimes by a mask made
of the head of the buffalo, the horns attached, the eyes of
the horse appearing through the original eye holes of the
skin.

Saddles

492 The saddle of the warrior was a square pad of antelope
[237] skin stuffed with hair, provided with stirrups of wood
bound with rawhide and secured to the horse by means of
a rawhide girth. The squaws used a saddle-tree of elk
horn covered with rawhide, often provided with an ornamental
crupper, from which long horse hair was suspended
[439] on either side of the horse. After the advent of traders
[177] bells were attached to the lower ends of the horse hair.

Bridles

[283] The horse was guided with a lariat of rawhide, usually
a single coarse strand but sometimes plaited with as many
as six strands. It was simply looped around the animal's
lower jaw, the lariat passing through the rider's hand and
dragging on the ground often to the length of forty feet.
[439] No other pattern of bridle was used by the Blackfeet until
[177] introduced by white traders.

Whip

[237] They were unacquainted with spurs, but used a whip consisting of a wood, bone or horn handle, some fifteen inches long, and a double lash of rawhide, from twenty to twenty-four inches long. A loop of skin was attached to the handle of the whip, by which it was suspended to the wrist.

Pipe

276 The pipe was made of a species of black marble obtained
324 in the mountains, semi-transparent when the tobacco was
ignited.

DISEASES

164 The more prevalent diseases prior to contact with the white race were rheumatism, neuralgia, paralysis, epidemic influenza, and occasionally pulmonary consumption, liver complaint, gravel and wens. Contagious diseases of every description were unknown among them until introduced by the whites. Those of a venereal character, which from the easy virtue of the nation have become alarmingly prevalent and occasioned an appreciable physical degeneracy in all the tribes, were first introduced by the Gros Ventres, who became infected with them in some of their visits to the Arapahoes upon the borders of the Spanish settlements.

MEDICAL TREATMENT

757
756
[753] For the treatment of disease, the Blackfeet employed a few indigenous herbs and roots, but the main dependence was placed upon the vapor bath and the conjuring tricks of the medicine men. Their theory of most diseases was that an evil spirit had entered into the body of the sufferer and that a cure could only be effected by its expulsion. For this purpose the charms of the medicine men were believed to have peculiar potency, which procured their almost invariable employment. In the treatment of wounds a poultice of certain chewed roots was applied sometimes, but the famed, all-powerful "Indian doctor" was as much a myth with the Blackfeet as among other tribes, and recoveries are to be ascribed almost altogether to the recuperative powers of the patient himself and not to the curative properties of a limited array of inefficacious remedies.

BEASTS OF BURDEN

● 492
231 Before the introduction of the horse the dog was the only beast of burden employed by the Blackfeet. The species in use was very similar in appearance to the large gray wolf, and is most likely an offshoot of that animal, with characteristics somewhat changed by long domestication. [493] In weight they averaged about one hundred pounds and are capable of carrying all day a burden of some thirty

33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

492 493 [230] pounds. This is effected by means of a device called by the Canadian French "travail," corrupted usually into travoy, traboy or travois. It consists of two poles, seven or eight feet long, spread something more than two feet apart at one end, approaching at the other just near enough to permit of the dog being harnessed between them. A sort of platform or basket connects them just in front of the center, upon which the load is designed to be secured. The harness is simply a collar and pad to which the travail is lashed. The introduction of the horse has relieved the dog of much of his former toil, but he is still employed to a certain extent, particularly by the squaws in collecting and bringing to the camp their little bundles of wood. When the horse is used as a beast of burden, he is sometimes provided with a travail similar to, but larger than that of the dogs.

GOVERNMENT

623 701 The internal affairs of a Blackfoot camp are managed by means of a soldier's lodge. This lodge is a sort of a military organization, consisting usually of from twenty to one hundred men, according to the size of the village. It is thoroughly democratic in principle, no member enjoying a greater degree of authority than the rest. Its origin is lost in antiquity and its existence has the sanction of custom from a period when the memory of man kneweth not to the contrary. It is a permanent institution, never lapsing, and its members enjoy their positions for life or till expelled for worthlessness or bad conduct. When vacancies occur by death, resignation or expulsion, the lodge elects new members from among the best and bravest of the band, no worthless man having a shadow of a chance of receiving this honor. When a camp is pitched, near its center will be found a lodge reserved for the deliberations of the soldiers who repair there whenever any matter comes up for consideration. At other times the soldiers live in their own lodges with their families. The power and authority of the soldiers is great and it is rare that anyone thinks of resisting it or calling it in question. An

sioners. They discussed matters at great 175
length, some adhering to their determin-
ation to go North, and others wishing to 123
attend the Council. I urged upon them
earnestly the propriety and necessity of 648
going to the Council, etc., etc. and they
finally agreed to move tomorrow towards Fort Benton and collect at "The
Writings" by the 25th September.

Next visited the "Spotted Eagle", a 175
Blackfoot Chief. He has with him ten
lodges and will come to the Council. 648
The Morning Star, with ten lodges will 622
not come. The Bull's Head, with 70
lodges, North Piegans, goes North.[15] He 621
said he was very sorry he could not do 162
as the "Soldier Chiefs" wished. He
would like to go to the Council, but 175
there was an old quarrel between him-
self and the Iron Shirt, a South Piegan, 648
and if they met there would be murder 622
committed. He did not wish to be engaged in fighting at the Council, because, if once commenced, it might not stop with those who began it and therefore he would not go. He was friendly
to the Americans and would keep Peace
if the Nation made one. The Flathead 175
horse I had come for had been stolen by
one of his young men and brought to his 685
camp. He, the Chief, had taken the horse 622
from the thief and now gave him to me
to take to his owner. In the winter he [361]
should go to the American Fort to trade,
and winter near there. [439]

I next called upon "The Man Who
Sits by the Eagle's Tail",[16] chief of a 175
band of 18 Lodges of Blood Indians, 622
called the "Robe Shirts". He said that
he was a good friend to the whites and 621
would like to go to the Council, but
himself and people were very poor— 648
they had only dogs to move with and [162]
could not go so far. [511]

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[14] *Blood informants say these men were Blackfoot chiefs.* [492]

[15] *The prominent chief met and gave his name to Col. James Macleod when the N.W.M.P. settled at Fort Macleod in 1874. He died during the winter of 1874-75.*

[16] *This man also had the name of White Wolf but was better known as Rainy Chief. He was born in about 1809 and was friendly to the missionaries at a time when most chiefs were hostile. He signed Treaty No. Seven in 1877 as a head chief and died in the following year.* [551] [728]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 25-B]

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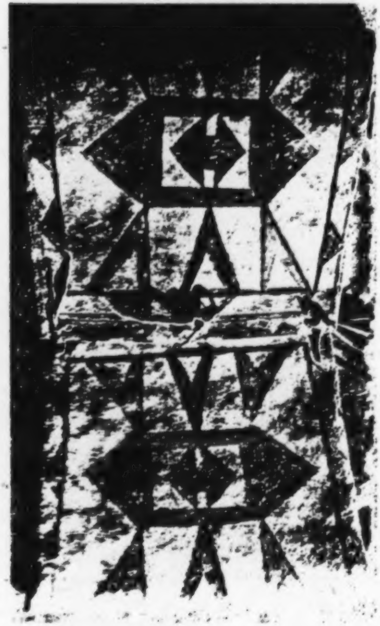


8. Parfleche painted in 1904.

their robes with picture writing extolling their deeds of bravery in war. 000

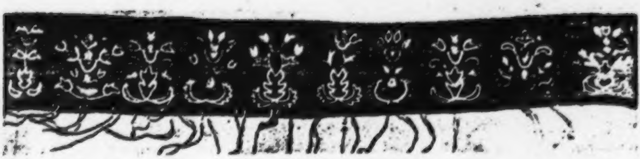
Rawhide Painting

One of the most common objects painted by women was the parfleche. These most useful storage and carrying cases usually were made in pairs. They were transported on horseback. One parfleche was suspended lengthwise of the horse at each side, by rawhide cords passing through burnt holes in the margins of the cases and over the pommel and cantle of the packsaddle. The contents of these heavy rawhide cases remained dry even when travelling in the hardest rain. 415 [531] [492] ● [283]

To make a pair of parfleches a woman selected a buffalo hide with the hair on, whose inner side had been fleshed and 281 [531] [532]

[P·16-A]

41: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1944) 1945 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



531
282
492

40. Complex floral design on a martingale.

[P·39-C]

531
778

57. Beaded navel cord amulet.

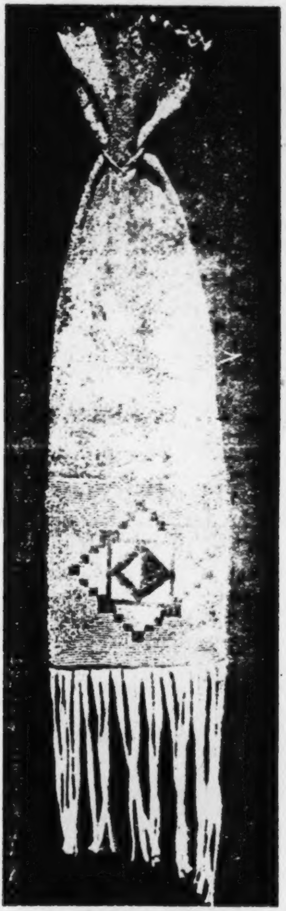
Decoration of Riding Gear

531
492

Those articles of riding equipment that offered sizable, flat, soft surfaces were generally decorated with beadwork. These included men's soft, hair stuffed pad saddles, martingales and cruppers used generally by women, and double saddle bags. Some pad saddles were formerly decorated with small rosettes near the corners, more recently with floral designs. The soft skin bases of martingales and cruppers were covered with red or black flannel. Older Indians say that in their youth the flannel was decorated in beadwork with angular designs "something like parfleche designs." In more recent times floral designs, combined with a

[P.53-A]

531
415



58. Beaded tobacco pouch.

531
492

double-curve have been employed. Nearly square flannel panels were sewed onto the saddle bags also. When the bag was in place over the horn of the saddle, one panel hung at each side of the horse. Before floral patterns were in vogue, these panels

[P. 53-B]

531
778
←

531
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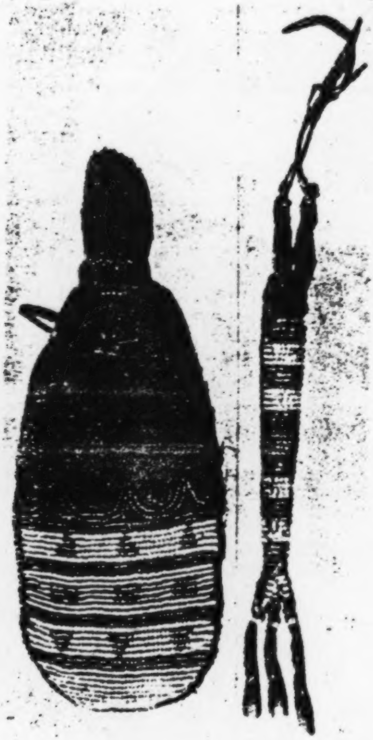
→



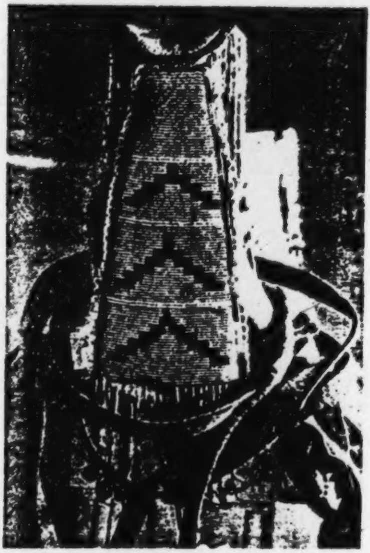
59. Beaded medicine necklace pouch and awl case.

were commonly decorated with geometric designs, consisting of horizontal stripes, mountain designs and other small elements. In recent times beaded flowers and double-curves have been used to decorate the panels. Fancy saddles used by women in parades in recent times are decorated with pendant triangular flaps hanging from their high horns and others from the stirrups. These, too, are beaded. 531 492

[P.54-A]

Symbolism

Many White people believe that every Indian design is endowed with some symbolic meaning to the Indian. In reality most Blackfeet designs in painting, quillwork and beadwork are purely abstract, decorative forms as devoid of meaning as the pattern on the average White man's necktie or on his wife's dress. The Indian names for most of the common Blackfeet designs are descriptive rather than symbolic. Even in the case of the "mountain design" it is most probable that the name was given as an easy means of identification after the design form was developed. There is little likelihood that the design was devised to represent a mountain. It is only in the religious painting of the Blackfeet, that a high degree of symbolism is present. It is most complex in the decoration of Blackfeet painted lodges. 531



531
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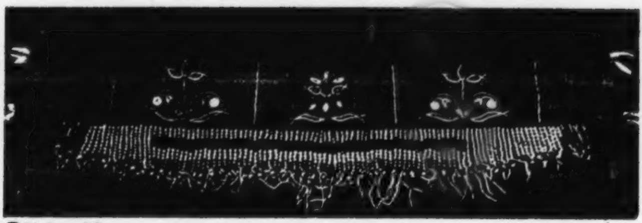
60. Beaded flap on the pommel of a woman's saddle.

[P.54-B]

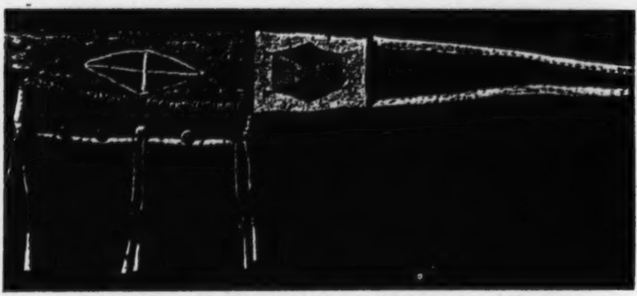
41: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1944) 1945 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



531
492

[P-56-A]

41. Beaded martingale for a woman's horse.



531
492●
178

[P55-C]

42. Beaded horse crupper (old style, geometric design).

531
492

64. Beaded double saddle bag.

more elaborate form of stone pipe has been made with the aid of metal tools. It is known as the "real pipe." The stone most commonly used was a grayish, calcareous shale quarried from several sites beside the eastward flowing rivers of the Blackfeet country. The Piegan claim that the site longest used by their people is a cliff overlooking the Two Medicine River, about two miles above its junction with Badger Creek, on their Montana reservation. They refer to the site as Pipestone Cliff. 276 324 [412] 316

In making a pipe a block of stone about 276 324 412

[P.57-A]

The informants were questioned as to the size of the tipis when their ancestors used the tipi rings. They all agreed on the fact that the tipis were not large before their people acquired the horse. Several of them said that they heard of large tipis or tipi rings with two fireplaces during "horse days"; this tipi had to be taken apart when moving. George Bull Child, the interpreter, had interesting information on the size of the precontact lodge: 342

> The tipis were not very large before my people got the horse. The dogs were bigger then, but they could not carry very much even though the travois made a load lighter. A certain dog would have to carry a tipi skin alone. The lodge poles would be smaller in those days, so that a dog could pull them. A big cover would be only ten skins then. Some fellows would say, "My tipi is six skins." A big chief would have ten skins. Later on, when they got the horse, eighteen to twenty skins was average. [10] [492] [493]

Adam White Man said that small tipi rings occurring in a camp of larger rings may have resulted from the smaller dwellings of widows, elderly people, and from children's play tipis.[11]

All the informants were asked whether or not their people ever returned to the same campground and occupied the same tipi ring. Several of them thought that it was not the usual practice for their people to return to the same ring. Bull Head agreed with this but added, "It was not the usual practice for people to come back to the same ring, but my father did return to the one I am protecting. There is no reason to believe that my father considered he owned the tipi ring that he returned to." Information contrary to this was given by Annie Calf Looking: 423

> Yes, my grandmother said that her people, the Don't Laugh band, would leave their rock ring and mark it.[12] No, she did not tell me where they camped but she did tell me that they marked their camp. They marked their own stone ring and they could not take another person's ring. If you wanted someone's ring, you would have to pay dearly for the spot.[13] You would have to give robes, dogs or horses if you came and wanted to take someone's ring away. There was quite a dispute when someone came and took another person's camping ground. Each person would know right where their ring was located. When a person died, their brother could take the ring, give it to someone else, or leave it blank. People kept from taking a person's ring because they were afraid of the dead. [211] [432] [768]

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[10] In his letter of March 25, 1954, Ewers believes "the estimate given by this informant on the average size of the Blackfoot lodges in posthorse period to be excessive. My informants (independently) seemed to agree very well with Wissler that the average sized tipi was twelve to fourteen skins." (Italics mine.) [114]

[11] A photograph confirming Adam White Man's statement was published by McClintock (1910, p. 10), in which two children are shown playing in a small tipi, the sides of which are held down by rocks. A modern example of this play tipi was photographed by the writer at the 1956 Blackfoot encampment (pls. 55, e; 56, b; 61, a). [857] [345]

[12] Cecile Black Boy claimed that the tipi ring was marked by buffalo horn cores left among the rocks of the ring. [237]

[13] Annie Calf Looking may be here confusing ownership of the ring (as a collection of rocks) with ownership of the right to camp in a certain position in the camp circle (see, e. g., Grinnell, 1892, p. 224).

Brief Communications

BODILY PROPORTIONS AS GUIDES TO LINEAL MEASUREMENTS AMONG THE BLACKFOOT INDIANS

JOHN C. EWERS
Smithsonian Institution

Elderly Blackfoot informants a quarter century ago recalled certain bodily proportions used by craftsmen and women as guides to lineal measurement in prereservation days. Still other measurements of similar character appear to have been introduced to these Indians by white traders. 804 [177]

[*Blackfoot, Assiniboin, Omaha, measurements, arrow-making, trade goods*]

Accepted for publication 1 July 1969.

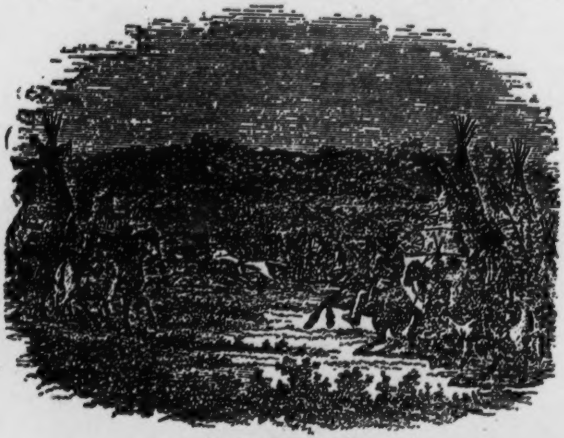
My oldest informants among the Piegan [015] and Blood Indians during the early and middle 1940s were not only members of the last generation of their people to possess lively memories of life in buffalo days, but they also comprised the last generation of the Blackfoot to lack formal schooling and to speak little English. When members of the younger, schooled generations mentioned the length of objects, they spoke in terms of feet and inches. But men and women of the oldest generation expressed lineal measurements in terms of bodily proportions, as their ancestors must have referred to them long ago.

I made no special investigation of lineal measurements per se, but my field notes contain repeated references to older informants' interpretations of these measurements in terms of bodily proportions, especially in their discussions of the manufacture of horse gear and the making of bows and arrows.

The fingerwidth and handwidth were the most commonly mentioned units. Women [462] were the skilled workers in rawhide and makers of riding gear among the Blackfoot [492] in buffalo days. Informants said that they commonly made hackamores and bridles two fingers wide, stirrup straps one finger wide, and common cruppers and martingales three fingers wide. Three fingers was also [439] considered the most desirable width for a

[P.561-A]

journeys, and pitching their tents on towards Edmonton, 726
leaving few behind capable of bearing arms. They [648]
were in pursuit of the Crees and Assiniboines, whom
they threatened totally to annihilate, boasting that they
themselves were as numerous as the grass on the plains.
They were the best mounted, the best looking, the most 726
181



No. 16—Horse Race.

warlike in appearance, and the best accoutred of any 726
tribe I had ever seen on the continent during my route. 181
As Mr. Harriett was very anxious to cultivate the ac- 126
quaintance and friendship of such questionable
characters, he accepted of their invitation to "camp" with
them until the following morning, which was exceedingly
acceptable to me, as it enabled me to make several
sketches, and to hear something about them. After our 541
smoke several of the young Braves engaged in a horse [525]
race, to which sport they are very partial, and at which [492]
they bet heavily; they generally ride on those occasions

541 stark naked, without a saddle, and with only a lasso
525 fastened to the lower jaw of the horse as represented
[492] in Sketch No. 16.A I had some difficulty at first in
[126] getting their chiefs to let me take their likenesses, but
after they comprehended what I wanted, they made no
objections.

648 Big Snake's brother was the first who sat to me, and
721 while I was sketching, he told me the following anecdote
[024] of his brother, of whom he seemed to be very proud.
Mr. Harriett understood the language and acted as interpreter. Some time back, Big Snake had the free admission to one of the American forts near the Rocky Mountains. Coming up one day with two other Indians, to enter the gate, it was shut rudely in his face by the orders of the commander, who had only lately arrived in the country. This his pride led him to regard as a direct insult; he rode away, and falling in with some cattle that he knew belonged to the fort, he commenced firing on them, and killed thirteen. As soon as the sentinel, who had given offence, heard the shots, he suspected the reason, and informed the superintendent, who immediately collected his men, and sallied out with them well armed, in the direction of the firing. Big Snake being on the watch, hid himself with his two companions behind a small hill.

The party from the fort apprehending there might be a large number of Indians hid, hesitated to advance within gun-shot; but a negro of the party offered to proceed and reconnoitre. Approaching the hill with great caution, and seeing no one, he began to think they had escaped; but, when within about twenty yards of the top, Big Snake sprang up from his lair and fired, bringing him down, and the next moment bore off his scalp, and waved it in derision towards the Americans.

A, [See Category 116 p. 296--Analyst]

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 .(1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

539 matásiststot. A´utòsaie, ákitanis-
224 tsiunie: A´nnik inán osíksinàni
sisíkit. A´kstamasìkomonuaie. Ki
omí isíststàni ki omík inánik áki-
taipakstsíp. Omí ináni ákitomo-
nimaie omí isíststàni. A´kitaipaks-
tsimaie.

● [492] A´iksistsìnotau. Aiaiákapotsiu.
Sotámotapòtsiu. Sotámaχkàpiuaie
omá aké. Aχkóskau. Ki omá
539 nínàua kákàupiu. Omí otoχké-
593 man iχ´pitsípìmin aiísisoaχpi. Si-
606 kánoyisoyimanàii, makáutskinai-
224 kin, sapúsoyinimàn, ókoani
otsítaχsiχ´p, kánnyaie nitsísoyì-
sonu. Otánik omí otoχkéman:
Noχkátsinàt. Omaχkínaiks án-
nikskaie ámiuaiks. Amóksi akéks
áisksòsinu otsítaksìnamaχpuàu-
aists. Asótsimàni itaisínàkinaunists,
[262] ki inúiskinètsimàni, nitápskine-
tsimàni ki aisóisàtsis. A´nnyaie
iχ´tanístsisitapìop omí otokis. Omá
nínàua támatapàisaisto: A´iχ´-
kitsísi ítsitsimànists, áiàkitopakìop.
539 A´mok Kinúksisaχtàii ákitsiksi-
224 sapistutsop. A´mistoiauk sipátsi-
574 niuà. A´kitsiitsimàup. Mátsaistò:

Their eyes [the bulls' eyes] were dusty. They would rub the knives a little, with them they cut their backs open. They were all skinned from the back down. Then they would throw out their kidneys. And the oil and grease would gather about their navels. They would throw down the yellow back-fat and spread it out. The man would tell his wife: Take and wash the manifold. When she came back, he would say to her: That leg-bone, the oily leg-bone, just break that. It would be broken for him. And the manifold and the marrow of the leg would burst by chewing. He would roll the marrow in the manifold. He would burst it by chewing it.

He had done skinning. Then he began to pack his meat [on a horse]. Then he came home with the meat. Then the woman [his wife] brought it [the horse with the meat] home [to her own parents]. He [her husband] stretched his hand out [that means: gave the meat to his parents-in-law]. And the man [the husband] just sat [inside of his lodge]. His wife came in with the son-in-law's [that means: her husband's] food. The broken boss-rib, the short rib, the gut with the blood in it, the tripe where it is good, with those [four] things he [the son-in-law] was fed [by his parents-in-law]. He was told by his wife: Give an invitation. The old men, those were the ones he

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

539 A´ipiò einíua, akékoaiks àkitsi-
222 kákiau omím omæχksiksímim.
A´kitsikosìnai. A´kitsitòtòaie. A´n-
nòm otsítaχsimaχpiai, ákitaupito-
toksksiuaie. A´ksipstsikapauàkiu-
aie. A`kitopitsiniotoyìuaie *ǽ*nni
nitúyi. Aníkoχksim ákitominio-
toyìuaie. A´ksoatsìuaie. I´kitsi-
ipùminai. A´kstæmatoχto akékoān
saχkúmapi, akáitapìau. Amói
akæχkúyi ákitunnataiau paχtsíka-
kæχtàuai, áisaitsikæχtakùyi, iχ´-
táumaitsìmiskiòp. *A*´nnistsiaie mat-
áuatomiau. Pokáiks mátåχkoi-
åχtoχkoχsìuaiks. Matå´χketsi
aipáuyikaiàu, omíksisk mistsíks
å´χkanautoyìau. Amóksi otápito-
toksksàuaiks. Kiníks matáuatsìau,
kapsḗks. Ki ænníksi ksísàm, ksáχ-
kumaiksi. A´isinipaiau. A´itåχ-
tsikitàuyakiòpiau. *A*´nnikskaie
áuχtsokoiòχtoχkòχsiu. A`kéks
áipænniχ´tsìi miksinítsìmiks. Mát-
aimiuanatsìuaiks. A´itapòtstuyis,
ákomiskaiau. A`kéks áiksoatåχ-
539 koχtaiau. A´iiståχtòmiau mistsísts.
751 Aipyå´χkoχtaχpokùsi, ponokä´-
824 mitai itáiiàkunistsiu. Sáikimaisò-
tsiχ´piu otsítanists. Itå´χkoχ-
tàuaists. Omístsi manistsístai *ǽ*nnis-
tsiaie noχkå´χkoàitsim. I´kaisa-
kakètsimàists. Autsiksíståχkotà-
539 saists, itápauaukapìnim osákopstà-
251 nists, aχkitsítsoatå`χsaists. Ki omá
kipitákeu otómitàm noχkå´χko-
nimiuaie. A´istæmaniu: Ki àiki-
539 páksakiχ´tsòk. K*ǽ*nnyaie noχ-
313 k*ǽ*toχtåχkoχtàuaie.
[482]

[492]

[When] the buffalo was far, the girls would cut a big tree over there. It would fall. She [a girl] would go up to it. Here, where she liked it, she would knock off the bark of it. She would hit it [the tree] lightly. Then she would peel from the same place [where she had been hitting]. The same size [as she had peeled] she would tear in two. She would eat it. It was very sweet. Then the girls and boys — many of them — would go. Over there on the hill-side they dug for false roots [a kind of eatable roots], rattle-sound-roots, [and] make-bleed-roots. Those they ate also. The children never became sick [because those roots were so healthy]. They would find the other [trees] to eat, they took all those trees. They peeled the bark from them. They ate also roseberries, [and] hard-seed-berries. And then there was earth-medicine [black alcali], it was earth. They licked it. All the mouths would be just white from it. That [the earth-medicine] prevented them from being sick [literally: they would not get sick from]. The women kept bull-berries through winter [literally: laid bullberries over night]. They had them also for berries to use them afterwards. When they had real winter, they would provide for wood. The women would go on foot for wood. They would pack the wood on their back. When the wood was far to get,

Aiksistápaukoχtàs, itáumatapàpaipiksim otoχkakímmànists. Itáiχ'tsaipiksim otsístakinì, opáksàtsis. Omí otánnaukotokèmi ánnimaie itotátsipòtsim omístsi otoχkakinnànists. Itauániu. Táksiksistàp. Itáumatapàkimaists. Á-kaisuiiχ'tsìu unnétoχki túkskàie oχkitsíkinanì áukoχ'okoaikìnamau. A'iksistàkiimaists. A'ukitsapìkinau. A'isæmàkotsisàie, ákitopitsosimàie. Omístsim pákkiχ'pistsim íkatsiksiststom. Itótoyiu omí àpótsii. Á'nniaie iχ'támsikauaie. O'mæχkaiitoχkòsinai ánnimaie itáisapimsikàuaie. Aiksistsínikinau. Omístsim pákkiχ'pistsim aitsítsapoχtòm. Akã'χtsimaie opákkimsikàn. Itanístsin àkéks: Amóm káχtsitsiksistotakaχpuau nitsínikinàni. Omí otánni íkaumatapakìmin omí osã'χkoχkàiis. A'iksistakìminai, otsítoχkokaie. Ki omím imsíkauim iχ'pitásoka-

they would put the travois on a 539
horse. They had covered their 313
saddles from one end to the other
[with raw-hide]. They carried 492
wood on them [on the travois
and the saddles]. They had profit 539
from the travois. They valued it 493
very much. When they had done
carrying wood with it, then they
began to coil up the ropes,
attached to the travois, [for fear]
that they might be eaten [by the
dogs]. And the old woman had 539
[also] profit from her dog. She 492
would say: Just put it [the dog] 231
short [that means: just put the
travois on its neck]. That way
she got her wood.

When she had done getting 539
her wood, then she began to 252
put her leg-bones together. She
pulled out her stone to hammer
the bones on, [and] her stone-hammer.
She put her leg-bones
down on her half of a hide. She
would say: I shall make grease
[from the bones]. Then she began
to hammer them. She had already
put her real pot on the fire. She
would make the soup with one
of the leg-bones. She had done
hammering them. Then she would
put the mashed bones in [the pot].
When it had boiled a long time,
then she would pull it from the
fire. She had already put the
cherries [near her]. She took a [415]
horn-spoon. With that she skimmed.
She put her skimmed grease [415]
in a big real [wooden] bowl.
Then she had done skimming
[the grease]. She put the cherries

Nánoatapìnako. Nató'siua áipispskapìu. A'uke, nápanisàuot. Akáipiχ'tsop. Nitokékaup. A'uke, αnátαmiàupik. Aχkumaiápitαχsαχkotoαsp. A'tomatòiau. Káuαskimàiau, tαká istuyíua. Ki otsistsikóχsau, ītsinóyiau einí. Itanīstsiu omí manikā'pi: Ánsátoχtomòχsit. A'īnnimàu. Amiáupiu. A'nàkimau. A'ītsitsiuaie omí kyáioskèinin. A'īnitsiuaie. Itsitótòiau. Itánnautatsìauaie. Anáukoχtsi támomyanistàinimiàu. Á'nuiaieisópàtskàiau. Nitúyiaukàie iχ'tsápikakiatsìauaie. Átsoáskuyi áitotòiau. Itsipótaiau. Itáuyosiau. Itákauniau. Otoáuaiks αnniksí iχ'tákauaiau. Itáiksistsoyisau, itáisimiau. Itomátòiau.

get far away. Finally it was night, [and] while they were making their escape, after a long time, during the night, they all got off from their horses just for a moment. They smoked. It [the tobacco] was all burned up. Then they began to get on their horses again. Then they started again to make their escape.

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Finally it was morning again. The sun was rising high. [The leader said:] Now, begin to get off about [just where you stop]. We are already far off. We have [now] really camped [that means: we can now stay here for a while, and cook our food]. [Afterwards the leader would say:] Now, get on your horses again. [Our people] must be singing praise-songs to us [now]. Then they started again. They drove their horses on foot, because it was cold. And when they got tired, then they saw the buffalo. He [the leader] told that young man [that had made a vow]: Taste for yourself now [that means: try your horse's speed by chasing the buffalo]. He caught his horse. He got on it. He chased the buffalo. He overtook a very fat buffalo-cow [literally: a bear-cow]. He killed it. They all came up to him. Then they skinned it. They cut one side in different pieces. They took those for a seat [putting them on their horses instead of a saddle]. From the same [half of the hide] it was, [that] they made stirrups. Then they

[224]
[492]

Kipitákeks áumikamàiiau. Makokímisokasimiàuaists. Einíua asipísts, ánnistsiaie iχ´tauăχkánnimiau. Oχkíni oksíks. Iksímakàpsii năχkoákasistotòχsiks. Annái ă´χkanaikokìmistotòχsiu. A´ukokimitsiu. Mìkatokì maiáiks. Mokúiniaiks. O´χkotokì óχkiks. Á´nnistsiaie nåχkitápauyàpsiu. Oχkíni ótstæχtsists. Mistsísi óχkotokì omåχtǽstaiiχ´piks. O´χpsists óχkotokì, oksísakopàists. Otoúistsi apáuki. Mátsitstsìpa poiiokă´mitaiks. Imitáiks áunistsiuaiks okóaists. Á´nnimaie nåχkită´χtom. Stsíkiks ámo onă´χksèkanì mátsitaiisksìmmatau. Kennístsi áiistaχtòm. Nepúsi nitápauauatùtsiu. A´nnaχkaie æskχsáipiskiu. Noχtǽstokoχkòyiu. A´kstuyìs, ákaisauoχsoχkìm, piksíks otsitsípoχkspì. O´mæχksikimìsts otakóχtsi mamíniks itáumatapsekòtoyiu. Osáiχ´kimaχkànists ki otoχkomístàtsists ánniaie nitáiăχkoàpsàtsiau nínaiks. Aistúyis, itáiksisapistutsiu. A´moists kanáipiskaists, mistákskuists, ánnistskaie mátoχkokyàpokonayìuu. Kapséks áiniuaχkatsìuaiks. Kiníks mátainiuaχkatsìuaiks. Annístsi nitáiniχ´katăχpi pæχsíists. Ki amóksi máaiks nită´χkanistă`χkanitaiχ´tsìau. Istuyísi nínaiks ámikamàstsæmmòkiau. Kénnyaie nanístsksinoau, nanistáuχtsimatàu. Mátsokapsksinoau.

ago used to bet, [and] used to 539
play. 524
[Some of the following parti- 525
culars refer, of course, to a more
remote period than that, of which 121
Blood has given a picture in the
foregoing pages.] The robes of 539
the old women were made of
strips [sewed together]. Their 291
dresses were made of old lodges.
They used to sew them with the [283]
sinews of the buffalo. Bones were
their awls. Very few [of the [412]
ancient Peigans] had antelope-
dresses. All the other people wore
old lodges for clothing. From an
old lodge they made their leg-
gings. Their robes were made
from the hides of young buffalo
[literally: were young buffalo].
They were buffalo killed in the [224]
fall of the year. Stones were
their pots. From those they got 539
their food. Bones were their scrap- [415]
ers. Sticks [and] stones were
things, they [also] scraped with. [412]
Their arrow-points were stones,
they were flints. Their knives
were flint. There were no horses. [231]
They packed their lodges on dogs.
There [on the dogs] they would [492]
put them. Some of the people
put their beddings also on [dogs].
And they packed the other things
themselves [on their own backs]. [482]
In summer-time they moved 539
about. Those were the people, 221
[that] were always corralling.
From that they got plenty to
eat. When it would soon be
winter, they were already near
[the places], where the fowl

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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otáistapuχs. Kǽnnimaie nímoχksìnoau. Nistóa nisótæmaχkai. Kǽnnaie nítsoò.

wet]. I did not know, how I came across the river. That person went away from there. I did not see him any more. He was burning in a blaze, when he went away. And that is all, I saw of him. I myself went home then. And that is all. 539 787

An adventure of Many-guns'.

Akáinamaχka nitánik: A´uto Nínoχkyàioa. Nìtsuiépiokinan. Nitsisóitapiiχ´pinan. Nitáiastoχkoanàn Asináua. Amóia asétæχtau, nitsitsoátåχpinan. Istáχtsikokùto. Nitsítamikinaiàists, nitópimi aiámistsiu. Ki omáie áuakàsiua naiáiua mátamìstsiu. Sótæmapitsisò. Nitsítàkaipiiχ´pinàn. Omá Nínoχkyàio ki Kyáiotokå`ni ǽkaiinimaiau. Itomátapskuyìau amó ónokå`mitàsin. Nistóa nimátopìmiχ´p. Amó ónokå`mitàsin kitáχts nisótæmiksistuyitùkskasatàu. Tsítæmsoksinoàu, otáiså χpauàns. Nitsítsksinoàu, maksískùminai amói otáiså χpauanskoχtoàie. Omáie túkskæm istsápinæm, tsítokskàsatau. Táitotàipi, nitsítsitamiå`χpauan. Sótæmiksistopì. Iχ´pítsakapistsipatakàyayiu. Nimátoχkoiàkoχkinàuats. Amói ónokå`mitasin ítspiàukskàsiu. Omá Nínoχkyàio nitánikiau: Tsá kanístsinimàχp? Nítánistaiau: Nitåχkænáistumì ǽnniaie nitópim, sótæmitamiå`χpauan. Ǽnuiaie nitsítoχkokiàu

Many-guns told me: Bear-chief was going. He took us on a raid. We were four. We got near the Crees. There was a creek, we crossed it. It was frozen under [the surface]. My legs floated away [from under me]. My rope floated away. And there was an antelope-skin, it was my robe, it also floated away. I then went ashore. Then we started on the raid. Bear-chief and Bear-head had already caught [horses]. Then they began to drive these many horses. I myself had no rope. I then just ran into the middle of these many horses. I then suddenly saw, that they were just jumping out. I then knew, that it was a spring, they were jumping from. There was one light-coloured horse, I ran after him. I got up to him. I jumped on him. I then sat ready on him. He then ran out [on the prairie] with [me]. I had no means to rein him. He ran among these many horses. Bear-chief [and Bear- 539 726 492

539 726 492 àpí. Nimoχtsískuiepìst. Nitsǽmmaχsì omá ponokă´mitau, isóksksinau. A`sáninai omíisk iχ´tsóksksinàχpi. A´nnoχk annóma Pekǽniu ki apatóχtæk mátsitstsìχ´pa ǽnni aχkanístsinimaie. Nistóa nínetsitapì ǽnni tánists. Sákiaitapìi Nínoχkyàioa ki Kyáiotokă`n. Á´nniksaie isksiniminie. Nistóakauk A´paitsikìna.

head] said to me: How did you catch him? I told them: My whole body was my rope, I just jumped on him. Then they gave me a rope. I used it as a bridle. When I looked at the horse, [then I saw, that] his face was painted. It was red paint, he was painted with. Among the Peigans of nowadays and the people of long ago there has been nobody, that caught a horse that way. I am the only one myself, that has [literally: I have] done that. Bear-chief and Bear-head are still alive. They are the ones, that [literally: they] know about it. It is I myself, Weasel-moccasin [Many-guns is his name given in childhood, but his name of later years is Weasel-moccasin].

[Cf. Uhlenbeck obt 84.]

Tatsey's sleep-walking.

539 828 Aisæmóyi, nitsínakstsis, nitáipustuyimi, túkskaie kokúyi nitsókani, nitsitonóχkyoko. Nisótæmepuau, nitsítsæks, annó niétæχtai nitsínapàtoχp. Annámaie ní's, ánistaua Makái. Okóai nítsepitoto. Nitánik: Kitáikiχ´p? Nimátsitsipsatàuats. Nikákaikstsikiχ´kìni. Åχké nímoχtotsàk. Nitsipókaks, nitskétsokuyi, nímoχtaipæχpuyì. Nimátsksiniχ´pa amók nímoχtòtoχpi. Nitánistauai: Ni'sá, kipæχkápiòkit, nitsikítsikòp. Iχ´táiimiu. Nitánika: Kínitauto. Annóχk

Long ago, when I was small — I then was ten years old —, one night when I slept, I got the nightmare. I then got up, I went out, I went down that river. There was an uncle of mine, he was called Dwarf. I went to his lodge in the night. He asked me: What is the matter with you? I did not say anything. I only scratched my head. He threw water on me. When I woke up, I was so much scared, [that] I trembled from it. I did

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

Horse- and cattle-raising.

Omík, einíua otsítsakaiχ´tsiχ´p, nótàsinaniks nitsiíkitokakiχ´pinàni, Skí'miks áukosisàu, nimátaiikoχkitopatanàniks. Omíksi napímiks kάtaiistsinitaiks, nanistáiniχ´katanàn áiomòkau. Mátaikyauaiks, iχ´táitsiuokòsiau. Istuyís amóksi skí'miks, iχ´táisamiopi, isoksístsisàu, áutapotsinàniki, ókoauaists nitáisummotsiχ´pinan, ki ómαχkàsists nimátoχtaisitsoisanàniau. Iχ´táiipstsikoyìau. Nímoχtaitsiuotaspinan, άskχsaisimìpiaχkì ponokå´mitaiks. Ki áχsii matúyiχ´kuyì istάskoaχkiàu, iχ´tauáuapuχsìau. Nepúsi nitápimiotasinàniks mátaiikoχkitòpatau. Istuyísi άnniksaukiau nímoχtauauàkimaχpinàniau. Ki amóksi stsíki nanistáiniχ´katanàni miómitaiks, άnniksaie áiistαχtòmi moyísts ki mάnistàmiks, káiists, imoiániks, ki ámoi isokúists. Omíksi skí'miks áiamitapàumaχkaii, kátaitsiuokòsiau. Nanistótaspinan, άnni nanistáitαskimaχpinan. O´mi saáinisoχtsi άnniaie ponokå´mitaiks otáuatoχpi, kαnáiaχsi, kátaiisi, iskúnatàpsi. Nótàsinàniks mátomαχkimìuaiksau. Iskitsímiiau annóχk ámoksk ómαχksìnokåmitaiks, otáiisau.

Long ago, when there were still buffalo, we took very good care of our horses. We would not ride the mares hard, when they were with foal. We called the male horses, that were not cut, stallions. They were not broken [to anything], that is why they had good colts. In winter, if the mares, we went to hunt with, had a heavy load, when we came home with the meat, we would rub their bellies with our hands, and we would smoke them [i. e. their nostrils] with big turnips. Therefrom they did not lose their colts [literally: therefrom they held their colts hard, i. e. inside their bodies]. From that we had good horses, that we watered the horses all the time. And that we put them on good grass, that is why they were fat. In summer we did not ride our male horses hard. In winter we chased the buffalo with them. And these other [horses], that we call the „hard-dogs", are those, that pack the lodges and the poles, the dried meat, the robes, and [all] these things that are heavy. The mares ran loose about, that is why they had good colts. As we owned horses separately, so we drove them [also] separately. What the horses ate over there in the lower country, was all good, that is why they were

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[422]

Certainly the ordeal required both courage
796 and fortitude, but the Chief says, and he should know, that the
785 event represented the fulfilment of a vow which the participant
[782] had made to the sun on the occasion of his requesting some special
favor, such as protection in war or the recovery from illness of a
loved one. Of special interest is the fact that if the skewers did not
tear loose after a reasonable term of sincere effort by the dancer, it
was the prerogative of any respected warrior to step forth, recite
his war honors by way of qualification, and sever with a knife the
strips of flesh which bound the dancer to the thongs; whereupon
the severed flesh was given as an offering to the sun. Such a brutal
religious gesture!—almost as nutty as having yourself lashed and
wearing a hair shirt over the open wounds. Those who fast at the
[178] Sun Dance for four days take no refreshment except a small drink of
water at sunrise and sunset, and since some of the old ladies and
gentlemen are too frail to survive such an ordeal, it is now allowable
for a surrogate faster to deny himself in their stead. There is nothing
supposititious about this action; it is intended by the surrogate as a
gesture of respect to the worthy old-timers and is done in the same
spirit that the cutting of the flesh of the dancer formerly was conducted.

342 The Chief mentioned something about the Indian teepee or lodge
178 which came as a surprise to me but which I should have had sense
enough to know without being told. The old buffalo hide teepees
were much smaller than their modern canvas counterparts. Hide
weighs much more than canvas, and even though the Blackfoots
used the lighter summer hides of the buffalo, or even split the hide
to reduce its bulk, a teepee constructed of more than six or eight
hides was simply too heavy for the nomadic Blackfoots to con-
[492] veniently pack around. Some wealthy families, who had many horses
and so could provide travois transportation for more worldly goods,
had larger teepees, but these had to be divided into two or more
parts because a single horse could not manage to pull the load.

342 The discussion moved on to the Blackfoot painted lodges, and
532 here we really struck paydirt. Even in the old days there were only
about four dozen painted lodges among all three tribes of the Black-
[619] foot Confederacy, and the lodges were not painted helter-skelter or
at the whim of the owner. The painted lodge was associated with a
[778] medicine bundle of some sort, and the designs painted on the lodges
[787] were either inspired by a vision that the owner had had or were
[432] purchased (the exclusive privilege of using the design, that is)
[424] from the previous owner. The Chief related the traditional origin of

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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Montana

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THE ORIGIN OF THE BEAVER BUNDLE

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A long time ago there was a Blackfoot trapper and hunter who traveled about killing bear and buffalo and other large animals, and capturing eagles and trapping the small animals for their fur. One time he camped on the north side of Lower Saint Mary Lake, above the place where the bridge is built today. Years ago you could see the circle of rocks where the trapper pitched his lodge, but now the rocks have disappeared.

One evening the trapper returned from checking his trapline to discover that his baby son was crying and that his wife was not in the lodge. He searched for his wife but could not find her. He could not even find her trail, so finally he decided that a bear must have killed her and carried her off.

That night, as the trapper sat in his lodge trying to comfort his baby son, a spirit person in the form of a man entered the lodge and spoke to him. The spirit person said, "I am here because I pity your poor child. Do not worry about your wife. She is in the lake, in the lodge of the Underwater Persons, and she is safe. I shall return to visit you again." Then the spirit person left.

On the following night the spirit man returned to the lodge and spoke to the trapper once again: "I have come to tell you what to do to get your wife back. In the lake is a small white beaver, the son of the Chief of the Beaver Persons. If you succeed in capturing the white beaver, your wife will be returned to you. I shall return again to tell you how to go about catching the beaver."

The next night the spirit man came into the trapper's lodge

ing Star]. But there are many of these songs, and they are very 539
long, and if we do not wish to sing them we pick up the buffalo 778
hooves and start dancing instead.

The trapper said, "I am still not satisfied," and the Chief Beaver replied, "I have only three things left to give. I will put into the bundle my *it-tśi-wahn* [gambling wheel]; you should gamble with this wheel only before you go to war, so that you may have good luck. I will also put in a small stick that has been chewed by a beaver; when the Beaver Bundle is opened, he that is the first to take possession of this stick will have much good fortune. Finally, I will give you the seeds of the tobacco plant; put these seeds into the ground, and each year as you return from your travels to the place the seeds were planted you will find tobacco to smoke during your ceremonies."

The trapper said, "It is enough," and the Beaver Chief painted his face for him and transferred to his ownership the Beaver Bundle.

Then the Spirit Man—the spirit that had first come to the
trapper in human form in order to tell him how to get his wife
back—entered the lodge. He was leading two dogs, a male and [492]
a female, and the male dog was drawing a travois. He said,
"Whenever you move camp you should carry the Beaver [493)
Bundle on the travois pulled by this dog. I am also giving you
a female dog, so that dogs may multiply and you will never
again have to carry your own burdens while moving camp."

The spirit person who took on a human form in order to help the trapper was really the Sun. Each night, when his day's work was done, he took on the form of a man and came down to earth to help the trapper get his wife back and also to advise him about obtaining the Beaver Bundle from the Underwater Persons. When the trapper found out who the Spirit Man really was, he took for himself the name, Nah-tòh-sey-i-néy-pey: Brings Down The Sun. He was the first Blackfoot ever to have this name.

Finally the Chief leaned back in his chair and said, "*Kèn-yai-au-* 122
wah-nay-náh-pi-quon," signifying the end of the Beaver Bundle 123
story. But it was still early, and we all felt conversational, and
we chatted on about ships and sealing wax. The Chief said that he
thinks I am a pretty good son, so he is going to will me some of this
Montana land that I love so much. I was deeply touched, and I
gave him my red-handled knife.

461 ments) and in the long run (8 statements). Among those who approved of it there was some hesitance regarding the adequacy of their knowledge (4 statements).

The most important objection to the activity was some of the Blood's perception of it as a dirty job (6 statements). Other reasons for rejection were lack of knowledge (4 statements) and lack of experience (3 statements). From these few objections or rejections it can be seen that the young Blood see Automechanic as a highly desirable and pargmatic instrumentality. They select primarily on the basis of practical econcmic criteria, the training received in shop courses, and on the basis of applied experience.

● [492] [554] Today, the horse has been relegated to the spheres of luxury transportation and status indicator. His role in Blood nomadism has been usurped by the pick-up truck. At the Sun Dance, at nearby Indian Day celebrations, and even at the local rodeos and stampedes, the horse is outnumbered by pick-up trucks and autos. The young Blood recognize this in that they see Automechanic not necessarily as an economic career but as a personal skill. For example:

> (Automech.) It's something like a hobby. I like doing that; fixing cars to accomplish your own thing. I've got my own tools.

57: United States W-4 (no date) 1974 NT6 Blackfoot NF6
Montana

Montana

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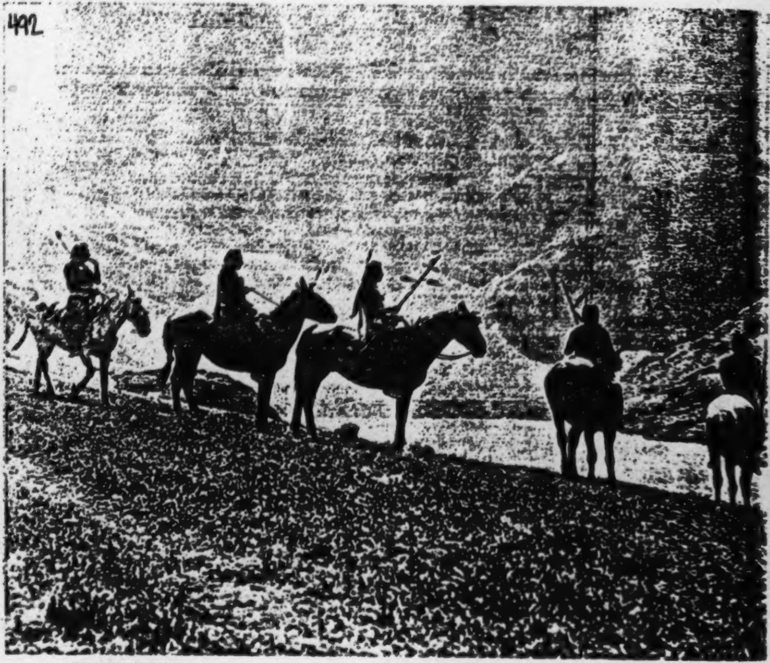

Blackfeet warriors

Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives

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